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The Washington Monthly

JUN

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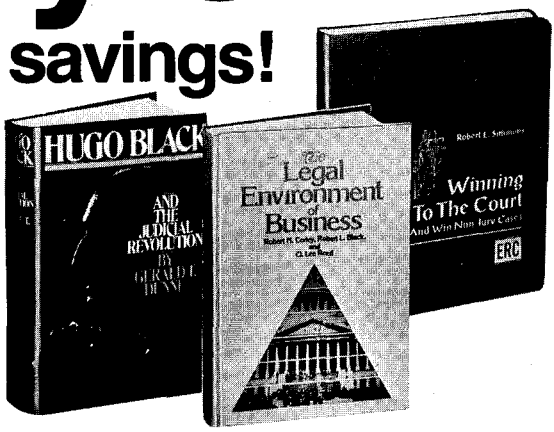

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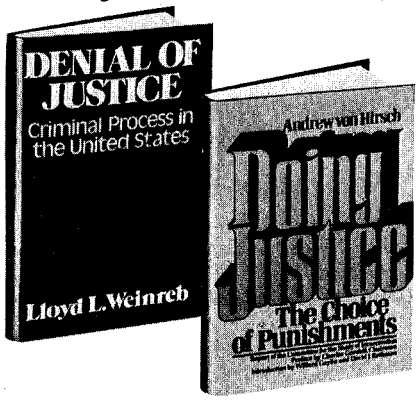

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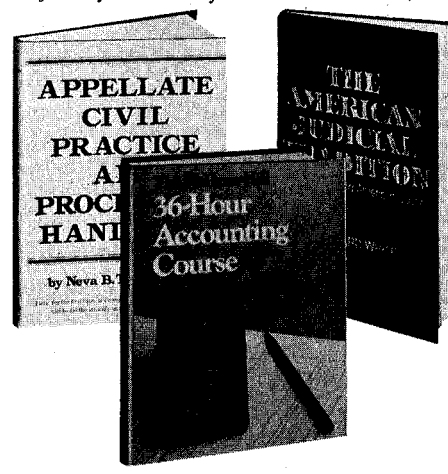

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VOLUME NINE NUMBER FOUR
JUNE 1977

The Twilight of the Rich
by David Ignatius
The power of the Rockefellers and the Kennedys is starting to fade—but the corresponding liberation of the rest of us will take much longer. 14

How the Government Drove the Small Airlines Out of Business
by Corey Rosen
The government isn't anti-business. Actually it helps big business and stomps only on the small entrepreneur. 26

Sorting Out the Sixties
by Nicholas Lemann
The impressive victories of the last decade present difficult problems for the present one. 32

Thomson, Moyers, and Ball: Prophets Without Office
by Roger Morris
Jimmy Carter should have honored the men who were right about Vietnam. Instead he has hired those who were wrong. 45

Executive Outplacement: The Fire-for-Hire Business
by Patricia Aburdene
Our great corporations are spending $100 million a year to ease people out of, and then back into, the ranks of management. 52

How to Make the Tobacco Companies Pay for Cancer
by Seth Kupferberg
If the government won't do anything, hungry lawyers can. 56

LETTERS 4 **TILTING AT WINDMILLS 6**

TIDBITS AND OUTRAGES 42 **POLITICAL BOOKNOTES 61**

POLITICAL PUZZLE 13 **WHO'S WHO 22** **MEMO OF THE MONTH 31**

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Letters

Electoral College

The article "What's Good about the Electoral College" [April] completely confirms my friend's oft-repeated conviction that "there are simply NO good arguments for the Electoral College." When *The Washington Monthly* fails to come up with decent counter-arguments, the case is closed.

The major arguments—that "it works" and —that it turns "razor-thin popular majorities into decisive majorities"—are patently fallacious. First, the fact that an archaic and currently non-functional system has failed to screw up is hardly persuasive evidence for its continuation. It is even less persuasive when one considers that if the system were functioning, the effects might be disastrous. No evidence was presented to show that the College has ever prevented a crisis. Second, the idea of turning "thin" majorities into "decisive" ones is so obvious a semantic game that I am concerned that it went by the normally insightful editors. If a plurality wins, calling it decisive makes it no more a victory. If politicians want to improve their margins they need only multiply the winner's popular vote by 1.05 and the loser's by .95, thus accomplishing the same end without the troubles and expense of the Electoral College.

Finally, the author himself provides some of the strongest reasons for abolishing the College—there is a potential for great miscarriage of justice. Electors are not bound to vote for candidates and there is a disproportionate power distribution. We should not forget that the College was designed out of a grave mistrust of the majority of the people in this country.

There are NO good reasons for maintaining an anachronism that at best serves no purpose and at worse has a potential for abuse.

GRETCHEN DZIADOSZ
Madison, Wisconsin

Taxflation

In their April 1977 article on "taxflation" and the Federal personal income tax, Michael Nelson and Donald Sweeney have attempted to inform us of our political naivete regarding the sinister and "secret way that liberals [Kennedy, Muskie, Proxmire, Ribicoff] raise income taxes."... As Nelson and Sweeney correctly point out, inflation does indeed interact with a progressive income tax to generate automatic, non-legislated increases in real tax burdens....

However, as proof that the liberals are irresponsibly secretly (!) subverting the progressive income tax through their opposition to indexing, the authors state (page 48) that the liberal solution of periodic ad hoc tax cuts simply does not offest the tax-increasing effects of the inflation/progressive income tax interplay.

Well, they are wrong on that.... The facts are that the four Congressionally mandated ad hoc tax reductions between 1960 and 1975 have *more than* eliminated the inflationary impact on overall effective personal income tax rates. The Brookings evidence also shows that all income classes except those between $25,000 and $200,000 have *lower* effective rates in 1975 than they would have had if the 1960 law had been indexed and no discretionary changes had been made in the interim.

This is not so say that there is no case for personal income tax indexation—there is. But even the proponents should take time to get the facts.

ROBERT D. EBEL
Washington, D.C.

The authors reply:

Congressmen, as we noted at considerable length in our article, do love to cut taxes. What we don't like is that the money they "give" us with such great fanfare is money they have already slipped out of our pockets by not correcting the inflation vulnerability of the unindexed income tax structure. Incidentally, Mr. Ebel's representation of our statements on page 48 is inaccurate; we refer the reader.

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Mr. President, we'd like to recommend these booklets for your energy program.

They're brief, they're factual, they're to the point.

And the electric companies have produced enough to instruct every man, woman, and child in the U.S. Literally, millions of printed pieces, over the past few years.

If everyone had acted on their suggestions, we'd be a longer way towards easing the energy crisis.

But the electric companies know that individual conservation can't do the job alone. So they're doing all they can to conserve, too.

That's why almost all of them have ceased building electric power plants fired by the critical fuels—petroleum and natural gas. Instead, they're now building plants based on noncritical fuels—coal and uranium.

That way, they won't be burning the raw materials that should be used for drugs, fertilizers, textiles, and other products.

What's more, the industry is now developing a national conservation plan, which will help people save even more precious energy.

It doesn't take much for individuals to help, either. To get information on how to conserve energy in the home, all they have to do is contact their local electric company.

Or write the Edison Electric Institute at the address below.

What each person does doesn't have to be a *big deal*. But if we all work together, we can accomplish a *great deal*.

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Tilting at Windmills

In May we reported that the campaign for the $11,400 pay increase for the top White House assistants was led by Margaret "Midge" Costanza, who said she simply couldn't afford to live on the $44,600 they had been receiving. Now we know why she couldn't live on it. She's paying $1,170 a month in rent for her Washington apartment. Very comfortable apartments for single people like Costanza are available for a third that amount.

But Midge retains the common touch. She asked the management to take out the gold faucets in the bathroom.

* * *

The excuse the Carter people have been giving for increasing the size of the White House staff by 20 per cent—instead of reducing it, as the President had promised—is that the additional workers were needed to handle the great influx of mail received by the new administration. The story is false. It is true that Mrs. Carter's mail is 40 per cent more than Mrs. Ford's, but Mrs. Carter's correspondence staff has actually shrunk by one. The staff handling the President's mail has grown, but not nearly as much as the White House staff as a whole. The fact is that the White House mail is being handled more and more by form letters.

It is ironic that the new employees who aren't answering mail aren't doing much of anything else. With the exception of the Powell, Eizenstat, and Brzezinski staffs, underemployment is the rule in the Carter White House. And it will remain so until Carter either fires some people or finds real work for them to do.

We have already recommended a constructive way for the President to put all his people to work. In order to lead the executive branch, in order to recommend sound legislation to the Congress, the President needs to send his staff out—into the government agencies and into the country—to find out what the government is doing and what it should be doing. Today the only information the President has about such problems is either self-serving, from the agencies involved, or extremely random, from a press that shares the natural tendency of the White House staff to focus on Wash-

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ington's dramas to the exclusion of the country's.

In mid-April, Midge Costanza—are we picking on her?—refused to go to West Virginia to meet with a delegation of flood victims. By going she might have found out which federal programs were working and which were not working and why. By choosing to stay in the White House, she played the old Washington game—and, by permitting her to do so, so did her boss, whose Clinton town meeting seemed to promise something better.

* * *

The laziness of judges is one of the great scandals of the law. It is also one of the least-known reasons why the law tends to favor the rich. Lawyers for rich clients delight in the delays and postponments brought about by the judge who arrives late and leaves early. Their meters continue to tick and their clients continue to pay. The poor, of course, cannot pay and pay. Sooner or later they have to give up.

Recent evidence of the extent of this scandal was provided by a study of the work habits of New York State Supreme Court judges by the Economic Development Council. The study showed that the judges spend only half of their working hours presiding over trials. The judges, according to Mary Breasted of *The New York Times*, replied indignantly that they spend five hours a day on the bench, out of their grueling total work day of six hours.

* * *

On April 15, Jody Powell, appearing on the MacNeil-Lehrer Report on public television, said, "One of the things we decided down in Plains was not to get too upset about leaks." Ten days later, after the appearance in *The New York Times* of an article by James Wooten that was critical of Carter's administrative style, Powell proceeded to question 28 members of the White House staff to try to find out who Wooten's sources were.

A more serious result of this phobia about leaks may have been the President's energy policy. Those who know say the policy was formulated almost entirely by James Schlesinger and that people like Michael Blumenthal, Charles Schultze, and Bert Lance did not have a chance to comment until it was too late to make any major alterations. This is unfortunate, because it is likely that at least two of them would have tried to do something about the program's inflationary tendencies. The reason they were not consulted in time was that Schlesinger played on Carter's fear of leaks. He conned the President into thinking, "better an unexamined policy than one the public finds out about before I want them to." This kind of thinking has produced disastrous decisions in the Oval Office before, and it is depressing to realize that regardless of what was decided down in Plains, the present administration seems no more enlightened about leaks than its predecessors.

In addition to the fear of leaks, another factor contributed to the lack of time for critical comment. It was Carter's self-imposed April 20 deadline. Any leader faced with a natural tendency toward organizational inertia is tempted to impose deadlines in order to get the job, whatever it is, done in reasonable time. But tremendously difficult problems like energy can sometimes benefit from what James Boren calls dynamic inaction. There's really no use doing anything until you've figured out what to do. As late as May 3, Schlesinger was still unable to answer relatively simple questions from the Congress about the effects of the administration's energy program and had to promise repeatedly, "We'll get back to you on that, Senator." The truth about deadlines is that you need them much less at the top of government—where lots of ambitious people are constantly waving their hands to attract the President's attention—than down below where dynamic inaction is the way of life.

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Carter's performance orientation, while a refreshing change from Gerald Ford's un-dynamic and continuing inaction, has its dangers. They are, however, more like the dangerous tendencies of FDR, JFK, and LBJ than those of Nixon, whose mistakes Carter seems the most concerned about avoiding.

***

On the front pages one reads stories about how, without more price increases and tax breaks, the oil companies will not be able to afford to explore for new oil. Turn to the business pages, which often reflect what the companies are telling the business and investment community, as distinguished from the general public, and you'll find this paragraph by *The Washington Star*'s Philip Greer and Myron Kandel under the headline "Liquidity Boom Spurs Market":

"Exxon has about $6 billion in the till and executives there, we've learned, expect it to climb to around $15 billion by 1980, in spite of heavy exploration expenses."

***

The same article, by Karen DeWitt of *The Washington Post*, that told us about Midge Costanza's $1,170-a-month apartment also said that Costanza works "20-hour days." We aren't picking on Costanza this time because such exaggeration of working hours is epidemic in Washington. The top people and their assistants frequently do spend 12 hours or so—if you count lunch—at the office. Very few, however, devote more than half that time to real work. Why, then, do they stay in their offices as long as they do and brag about staying even longer? The reason can be found in Schultze's Law, formulated by Charles Schultze, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors. Schultze's Law says, "If you can't measure output, then you measure input." In other words, since bureaucrats don't produce anything, the only thing they can congratulate themselves about is the amount of effort they put in. In Washington, the number of hours you work is also a badge of importance—long hours suggest that you have so much to do that you really can't cram it all into a regular working day.

On Washington's Birthday, 1961, Bobby Kennedy went through the Justice Department parking lot, noting the license numbers of the cars there so that he could write notes of appreciation to all the staff members who had come to work on a holiday. The message was not lost on New Frontiersmen. There was, for example, a sign-out book at the Peace Corps that everyone who left after 7 p. m. was to sign. The word got around that Sargent Shriver periodically took a look at the book to determine who the really dedicated were. So approximately 100 staff members made a point of regularly delaying their departure until between 7 and 7:15. The security guards, unaware of all this, changed the sign-out time to 6:30 p. m., and those same 100 staff members proceeded to sign out between 6:30 and 6:45.

***

The Government Accounting Office recently issued a disturbing report on the effectiveness of the government's special strike forces against organized crime. The study analyzed the 2,967 indictments obtained from 1972 through 1975 by strike forces in six major cities and found that, while a large number of convictions resulted from the indictments, 52 per cent of those convictions did not require the persons sentenced to go to jail. Only 20 per cent of the sentences involved more than two years' imprisonment.

On the other hand, there is some good news for those of us who want public officials to think as much about protecting the community as they do about saving the criminal. The Arizona Supreme Court has held that members of the state board of pardons and paroles may be liable for gross negligence in releasing prisoners who then commit violent crimes. The

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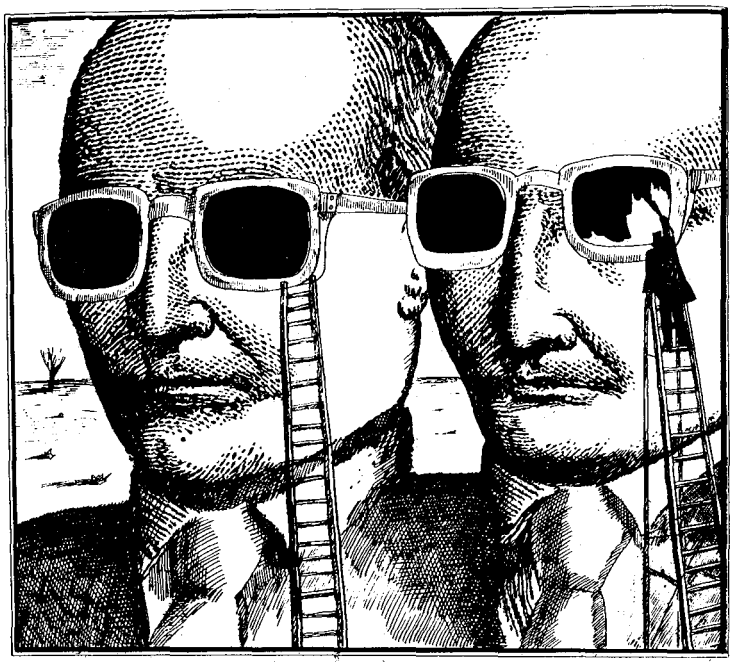

"How a lot of politicians deal with human need."

"Too many public officials are trying to cure budget problems in state and local government by cutting human services. And by closing their eyes to a lot of human problems.

Like the 70-year-old widow who has nowhere to live when the state shuts down the nursing home. Or the working mother who's forced onto welfare when the daycare center closes.

Or even the retarded kids who sit in locked rooms because there's no one to care for them.

If you haven't heard about these conditions, you're not uninformed. With all the self-congratulatory praise most politicians use about 'fiscal integrity' and 'tough fiscal management', not many people see the pain and sorrow of human services cutbacks. Not even news people.

But human suffering won't go away by ignoring it. Or by blaming the people who work in nursing homes, daycare centers, or mental hospitals.

Our union represents these workers, so we know what the politicians are ignoring. Our goal is to open your eyes."

"The business of government is people."

—Jerry Wurf, President

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case involved a suit against the board by the heirs of a murder victim whose killer had been paroled by the board after serving only ten months of an eight-to-ten year sentence for robbery and attempted murder.

Isn't it time we formed a liberal-conservative consensus that would agree to be soft on victimless crime and first-offense, non-violent crime, but hard on violent and organized crime?

***

The James Wooten article that so upset Jody Powell expressed some of the same concerns about Carter that we discussed in December—that he was like a military commander with his staff and that he did not encourage face-to-face dissent. The Wooten report is somewhat exaggerated. Wooten describes Carter as "brutally brusque" with his subordinates. Brusque is right, brutally is not. Wooten also charges that Carter is using the Secret Service to deny the staff access to the oval office. This too seems exaggerated. Carter is not going to fire anyone for speaking up. The problem is that he does not like to argue, so that even though he may hear dissent, there will be no follow-up give-and-take discussions during which he could be persuaded that he was wrong.

***

The Left sees American foreign policy as the tool of the military-industrial complex. In most cases, a full respect for truth and complexity requires at least some modification of this view. But it is totally accurate as regards our policy toward Latin America. For about 30 years that policy has been dominated by the CIA, which was staffed originally in Latin America by former FBI men who shared the enlightened world-view of their ex-director. And, in the last month, we have been reminded by Richard Gott of *The Manchester Guardian*, that since 1949 we have trained 33,534 military officers from Latin American countries at our School of the Americas in Panama. The curriculum includes courses in "interrogation techniques" and in "urban and rural counter-insurgency concepts." The school displays on one of its walls a framed letter from General Augusto Pinochet, the president of Chile, dated November 6, 1973, two months after the overthrow of Allende, in which Pinochet expresses his personal thanks for the work of the school.

***

At the Clinton Town Meeting, President Carter said the practice of double-dipping "ought to be eliminated," but now comes Ted Krop of Scripps-Howard with this story:

"President Carter has acquiesced to the hiring of additional 'double dippers' despite his statement that the practice ought to be eliminated, the White House said today.

"Deputy press secretary Rex Granum said Carter is aware that his administration has been hiring people already receiving military pensions and that he plans no immediate action to stop it.

"Granum quoted Carter as saying it would be 'unfair' to change the pension benefits of military retirees who have gone to work for the government, or to bar other military pensioners from getting on the federal payroll. The President was said to feel this would violate the 'contracts' made with people who had gone into and stayed in military service."

If other public officials follow Carter's reasoning, we're headed for state, local, and national bankruptcy; that's where we're being taken by our pension plans for public employees. We cannot change the terms of those pensions to accord with fiscal reality if employees are deemed to have a "contract" right to the existing terms.

The original theory behind these pensions was that they were to support in their old age faithful public servants who were no longer able to work. Early retirement was designed for a military that consisted largely of cavalry and infantry corps that demanded the excellent physical condition of youth and did not leave the

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retiree with employable civilian skills. Now most armed service jobs do not require physical exertion, and most of them constitute excellent preparation for technical and bureaucratic jobs either in other parts of government or in large corporations. Certainly we owe these people a comfortable life when they are no longer able to work, but to contend we have a contractual obligation to pay them pensions while they are being generously compensated at another job is to ignore the fact that the original bases for the contract have largely disappeared.

* * *

Walter Goodman, writing in the Arts and Leisure section of *The New York Times*, recently argued that politics and art should remain separate. We disagree. The subject of what the artist can learn from the politician is immensely complex, and we reserve comment on it until a later time. But what the politician can learn from the artist seems to us both obvious and urgent.

One day we'd like to start a school for politicians, and when we do we will make sure our students read Cervantes, Shakespeare, and the great novels of the 19th century, from *The Brothers Karamazov* to *Huckleberry Finn*, from *Vanity Fair* to *The Red and the Black*. Politicians and those who teach politics tend to see human beings as groups and statistics. They desperately need to be reminded of the complexity of man, the complexity of truth. They need to put themselves in the shoes of the people their laws affect; they need to remain constantly aware of both man's darker and nobler sides so that they can guard against the former while not restricting the expression of the latter. It's easy for politicians to live in a world elaborately constructed to shield out large chunks of life; art helps take those shields away.

"Without art," says Saul Bellow, in his Nobel acceptance speech, "we do not know ourselves or anyone else. Only art penetrates what pride, pas-

we bring them all together

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sion, intelligence and habit erect on all sides—the seeming realities of this world. There is another reality, the genuine one, which we lose sight of. This other reality is always sending us hints, which, without art, we can't receive. Proust calls these hints our 'true impression.' The true impressions, our persistent intuitions, will without art, be hidden from us and we will be left with nothing but a 'terminology for practical ends which we falsely call life.' "

As Bellow goes on to point out, the novel is not providing those true impressions today. But a new form of art is emerging, rooted in journalism but partaking of psychology, anthropology, and the 19th-century novel; it can be especially helpful to politicians because its best examples describe them and their problems. Robert Caro's biography of Robert Moses, David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest*, and James Fallows' article on Bill Moyers in this magazine are good examples.

* * *

The White House press corps is the winner of *The Washington Monthly*'s Annual Hypocrisy Award.

Last month the White House Correspondents' Association gave its major award to two reporters who had disclosed that military funds were being diverted to pay for congressmen's travel expenses. But Air Force planes are regularly used to give discount vacations to the families of White House reporters, as Trudi Osborne reported in our Feburary issue. None of the White House correspondents has ever disclosed this fact, although there is no defensible distinction between it and the congressional scandal that won their award.

* * *

Recently we received a letter from a reader who said she is disturbed by our "constant" attacks on liberals. We want to assure her and our other liberal friends that we count ourselves in their number. We believe that one must act on the liberal assumption that things can be better. However, we also believe that assumption should be accompanied by an awareness of all the factors that make reform difficult. We feel that both conservatives and liberals need to be self-critical and we try our best to assist them toward that end—by helping them laugh at themselves, by helping them see their own oversimplifications, and by helping them face the valid points on the other side of the argument.

On specific issues, we favor such liberal programs as a national health service and a guaranteed annual income. But we fear that conventional big-spending liberals will not face what has to be done to make either program truly feasible economically. We simply can't afford a national health service that does not control physicians' fees and hospital costs. Nor can we afford a guaranteed annual income that is added to instead of replacing our other income maintenance programs. (On this point, our best information is that Carter will bite only half the bullet, abolishing welfare and some other programs, but leaving unemployment compensation and social security as they are.)

We favor tough government regulation on matters of health, safety, and fraud. Otherwise we're enthusiastic about free enterprise—as, by the way, are very few of the people who call themselves conservatives; most of them are really just on the side of big business. We would like to see tax breaks restricted to those who start new enterprises, build new plants, drill new wells, or who suffer loss through no fault of their own.

Like the conservatives, we're bothered by liberals' scorn for the middle class; like the liberals, we've never been able to understand how conservatives can be so unfeeling about the poor, the unlucky, and the beaten. In other words, we're a mixture but mostly we're with the party of hope.

—*Charles Peters*

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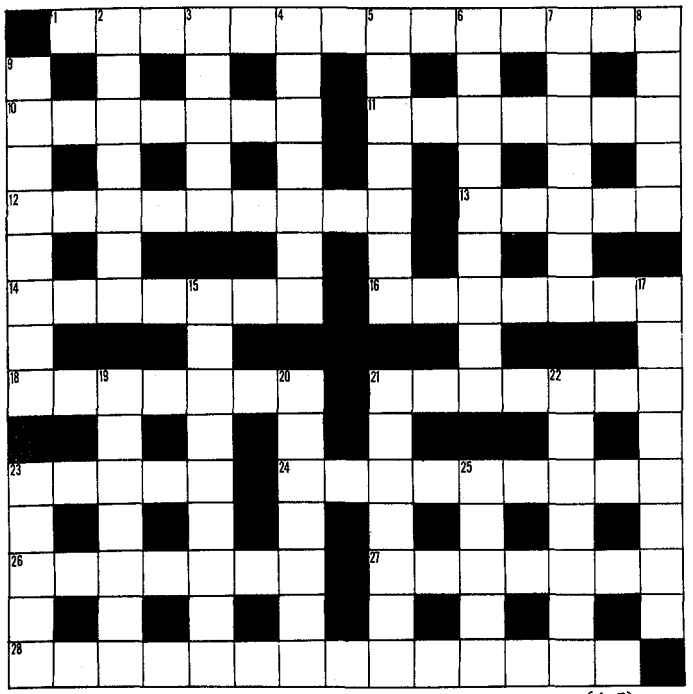
the political puzzle

by John Barclay



ACROSS

1. Federal concern with a girl in every port? (7,7)
10. Deaf comprehend tricky ad peril. (7)
11. Start talking about pup nose. (5,2)
12. Street air transposed for repeaters . . . (9)
13. . . . or yet a player around. (5)
14. Possessive kinds are mediocre. (2,5)
16. Way of speaking around citadel. (7)
18. During chess match, castler turns red. (7)
21. Carry out and kill. (7)
23. Make room for crazy civet? (5)
24. Desirous of making something out of tight coin. (7,2)
26. Nothing amid trees makes furrows. (7)
27. Donkey sits around, helps out in its way. (7)
28. Federal concern with rapture? (14)

DOWN

2. Little opinion papers can be made to weigh heavily. (7)
3. Disease symptom wrapped in suede material. (5)
4. Dodges South around Minerva, for example. (7)
5. Irritated? Use road repair. (7)
6. Defer rate? Works out much better than that. (4,5)
7. Lye tins prepared to high standards. (2,5)
8. Get something really good out of purse. (5)
9. Midwestern locale? No, Lili is making it up. (8)
15. Mother Earth and Father Time, for example? (9)
17. Representative home in Washington? (3,5)
19. Indian country listed from A-Z on air. (7)
20. Attempts to store it in some manner. (5,2)
21. Ann and Chet give spelling lesson. (7)
22. Desires for bizarre get sour. (5,2)
23. What the G. I. found pieces of. (5)
25. Steinway put on the map. (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2, 3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word. Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 39.

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The Twilight of the Rich

by David Ignatius

We all have stories to tell of our encounters with the rich, and most of them aren't very flattering—either to the rich or to the rest of us.

I can recall, for example, an evening five years ago, when one of Robert Kennedy's sons visited my apartment while I was a student at Harvard. In just a few short hours, he broke my stereo, screwed his girl in my bed, and left, poker-faced, without so much as a nod of appreciation. His behavior was outrageous, and I was outraged. But to be honest, the next time I saw him I greeted him warmly, reminding him of my name, courting the possibility of his friendship.

I am told that several years later, another of Robert Kennedy's sons got a similar reception at Harvard. In this citadel of meritocracy, the Kennedy boy was widely regarded as a recipient of special favors, an indifferent student who on the strength of his birth had passed through the magic gates that everyone else had entered through self-driving effort. Professors lowered their usual admissions standards to allow him into special, elite courses; attractive, intelligent women pursued him; and clever students who made nasty remarks behind his back struggled for admittance to his circle of friends.

Perhaps Harvard students are more two-faced than most, but I suspect that our ambivalence toward the rich was fairly typical. Ambitious, upwardly mobile people deeply resent the rich and their effortless access to power and status. But they also tend to be fascinated—intoxicated, even—by their world, and eager for a place in it. The way the resentment and the fascination combine says a lot about the people in whom those feelings well up.

The Duchess of Windsor put the matter of glamour and attraction bluntly: "There is no such thing," she said, "as being too thin or too rich." Until quite recently, this would have been good advice for any aspiring politician; in politics, the public's fascination with those who have money and style has tended to outweigh its simultaneous sense of resentment. Even the questionable personal attributes of the rich have added to their aura. It's likely, for example, that part of the attraction of John Kennedy was the intuition that he was the sort of man who kept up an awesome pace of philandering.

Today, the confirmation of this intuition in the newspapers leaves us cold. And this may be one small sign that the balance of our ambivalent emotions toward the rich may be shifting away from fascination toward something more sensible.

There's no clearer proof of the shift than the change over the last decade in the status of America's great political families, the Kennedys and the Rockefellers, who used vast fortunes to launch themselves in public

David Ignatius is a former editor of The Washington Monthly *who now lives in Pittsburgh.*

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"I can recall, for example, an evening five years ago, when one of Robert Kennedy's sons visited my apartment while I was a student at Harvard. In just a few short hours, he broke my stereo, screwed his girl in my bed, and left, poker-faced, without so much as a nod of appreciation."

life. In the sixties these families seemed invincible, able to attain any prize. They were the object of wide admiration. Their every move was closely chronicled. When Jay Rockefeller, for instance, was elected Secretary of State of West Virginia, *The New York Times* dispatched Richard Reeves, then its hottest political reporter, to cover him. Rockefeller's presence had turned that sleepy post into a "stepping-stone to the White House." But last year, when Rockefeller took what would logically seem to be a far more important step toward power by winning the West Virginia governorship, the election aroused little interest. The *Times* covered it much like any other statehouse race. Nelson Rockefeller, once assumed to have the presidency at his fingertips, is back at the family estate after two humiliating years as Gerald Ford's vice president. Even Jackie Onassis appears to be on the skids, supplanted by Farrah Fawcett-Majors as queen of the supermarket magazines. The dynastic families aren't dead yet, but they're losing their grip on the rest of us.

And, apparently, on themselves. Internally, the rich seem to be becoming more ordinary with the passing of generations, as their desire for great quantities of money and power gradually dwindles away over time.

Consider the Rockefellers: for nearly a century they have dominated American political and cultural life. Through what amounted to a private shadow government—the Rockefeller Foundation, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Trilateral Commission, and many more—they financed the network of institutions that have given cohesion and identity to the American elite. Their money and vision shaped what deserved to be called, until the 1960s, the "American Century."

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who inherited his father's oil fortune and used it to build an empire of good works, set forth the family's (and the country's) mission: "Every right implies a responsibility; every opportunity, an obligation; every possession, a duty." Regardless of what you think of the world the Rockefellers helped create, it's important to grant that they had a clear sense of class identity and purpose.

That strong-willed creed is dying out in the Rockefeller family. In its place, we have the tremulous groping of the younger generation, which, if it isn't less talented than its forebears, is (with the exception of Jay) certainly less ambitious in the conventional Rockefeller sense. To date, its offerings to society include: the exclusive franchise on a Scandinavian system for transforming dung into compost (Abby Rockefeller, daughter of David); a quiet academic career (Steven Rockefeller, son of Nelson); and the fruits of an organic vegetable farm (Marion Rockefeller, daughter of Laurance).

The young Rockefellers, along with a remarkable number of their fellow young aristocrats, are at sea. That is, at least, the picture that emerges from Peter Collier and David Horowitz's study, *The Rockefellers*. They're ashamed of the family name, guilty about how the money was made—and they long, above all, to be

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"Nelson Rockefeller, once assumed to have the presidency at his fingertips, is back at the family estate after two humiliating years as Gerald Ford's vice president. Even Jackie Onassis appears to be on the skids . . . . "

like the rest of us, who are forced to muster enough luck or guile to make our way through the world. They're struggling—admirably, in their own way—to define themselves apart from the identity based on the money and power they inherited. This struggle, so absent in their parents' generation, says something important about their class. In the current generation, the elite is unraveling, decomposing, losing its will to command.

Fascists and Libertines

In this development, American society may be maturing toward a phenomenon long familiar to European nations. For at least a century, European societies have sustained in their midst a prosperous, rebellious aristocracy, whose younger members amused themselves by attacking almost every aspect of the established, bourgeois order. They became fascists, communists, patrons of the avant-garde, promiscuous libertines—the specific variety of revolt was unimportant. The basic truth is that the children of the elite have had no interest in filling the leadership roles available to them. It is far better to rebel, in almost any direction.

There was a time when Americans stood against this sort of thing. In the novels of Henry James, for example, one encounters earnest young Americans with money struggling to understand their dissolute European counterparts. Quite often the Americans come away asking a simple question: "Why don't these people do something *useful* with themselves?" Americans abroad seemed unable to understand how a ruling class could lose its competence and willingness to rule. Perhaps Russians and Chinese feel the same bewilderment today when they read about Stewart Mott tending vegetables atop his penthouse, or Abby Rockefeller selling dung.

This fall of the dynastic families from power and from the public's grace has allowed us, for the first time in years, to see the flaws of the rich clearly; indeed, it's now apparent that they were never all we cracked them up to be. The Kennedy brothers have, beginning with Chappaquiddick, been thoroughly demystified, perhaps too much so. And we can now see that the much-admired competence and stability of the Rockefellers has actually been sagging for some time. Although it wasn't always apparent in the buoyant, prosperous period in which they made their reputations, the two most prominent of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s four sons were seriously flawed.

Nelson, though not the eldest, pushed himself forward to family leadership and political power by talking like a ward boss. Casting aside his father's code of noblesse oblige, he became, in the words of one associate, "the most ruthless man in politics." But what it all brought him, finally, was the back of the hand from Jerry Ford and the rest of the resentful right wing of the Republican Party.

David, the last-born and in many ways the cleverest, climbed the management ladder at the Chase Manhattan Bank until he became a respected spokesman for American business. He, at least, seemed to have proven himself in the real world. Unfortunately, he proved a better figurehead than a banker, and an over-extended, ill-managed Chase entered the 1970s as

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"Perhaps Russians and Chinese feel bewilderment today when they read about Stewart Mott tending vegetables atop his penthouse, or Abby Rockefeller selling dung."

the weak sister among New York's big banks—far less aggressive and efficient than its major rival, Citibank.

The Dream of the Underlings

It would be nice to think that the collapse of the Rockefellers and the Kennedys will liberate the rest of us, allowing us to develop our creative potential to the limits of our imagination. That, after all, is the traditional dream of the underlings when their ruling elite shows signs of giving way. Unfortunately, that doesn't seem very likely, for the meritocratic system, which is fast replacing the dynastic power of the great families, holds most of us prisoner in a new way.

We're not dependent on the rich themselves. Most of us sense that we're probably more competent than they are—that we can do a better job than the carefully groomed son of the board chairman. But we are dependent on the institutions of the rich, created several generations ago for the most part, which still provide our most important definitions of stability and self-worth. Even at our best, we tend to act like ambitious family retainers—hoping to find security in the corporations they founded, striving to get a little piece of the money they made, afraid to risk stepping off the ladder that we hope will carry us toward their clubs and weekend homes and dinner parties.

It doesn't have to be this way. To a surprising extent, we are already close to realizing the meritocratic ideal in America: the "A" students, the achievers, the descendants of people who couldn't stand the stifling confinement of the old world, today very nearly run the United States. If you doubt it, open the annual report of a large corporation and count the number of Italian, Irish, and Jewish names among the top officers. Or look at the *Who's Who* entries of the members of Carter's cabinet—you'll find steady climbs through big institutions, not inherited status. For the most part, these are people who started off with little money, learned to discipline themselves, and by punching all the right buttons and taking a few fortuitous risks, made it to the top.

But having arrived, with the economic freedom and talent to do what they want, the self-made men often act as if they've lost the capacity for self-expression. They seek out the comfortable institutions of the dying elite that preceded them. Look at the clubs where, according to *Fortune*, the newly made men of stature take their lunches: in Boston, it's the stuffy Somerset Club, founded in 1851; in Pittsburgh, the Duquesne Club, once the haunt of Frick and Mellon.

I know a young banker from Citibank who is starting out with much brains but little money. He is capable enough to make his way on his own terms. Yet already he is learning to live the boring life of the rich. On his frequent trips to Pittsburgh he uses the bank's membership to stay at the Duquesne Club. His luncheon invitation summons you to a private room at the club, where the banker—only in his twenties—does his best to act like he was reared on Virginia spots amandine veronique, the house specialty. They're very tasty. But he would probably be a better and more creative banker if he let his practical

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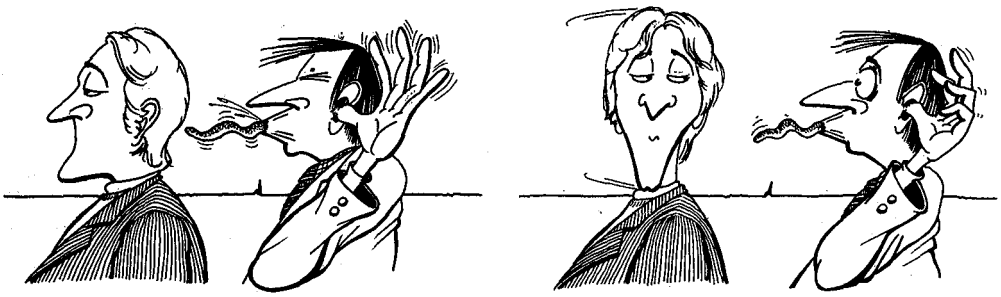

needs take precedence over his social ones.

Away from Pittsburgh in more liberal circles, the ladder up leads toward another wing of the aristocracy: the black sheep from Wasp families, the cultivated literary and academic elite. In their salons in New York, Cambridge, and Washington, the habitat and code of behavior are different. For example, the accepted wisdom often seems to be that private enterprise is barren and worthless, rather than the pillar of righteousness one hears discussed at the Duquesne Club. But the sense of claustrophobia —of the surrender of creative, free thought for status and security—is identical. In both cases, people with brains are cozying up to people with money.

Paradoxically, it may be meritocracy itself that drives us toward the rich. On the treadmill year after year —allowing ourselves to be examined, placed, and reviewed each step of the way—it isn't surprising that we begin to long for security, for a sense of being rooted in something more permanent than our own test scores and job resumes.

Take something simple, like the ability to meet regularly with your parents, brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles. For most working people on the ladder up, this becomes all but impossible. They find themselves being transferred from job to job and place to place so often that they're lucky if they can keep up acquaintance with their own spouse and children. Thus, the mystique for the rest of us of Hyannisport and Pocantico Hills: the family compound, where each member of the family can return each summer to experience community, continuity, and renewal. Nestled in their compounds, the rich are able to retain what the meritocrats are forced to give up. Similarly, while the rest of us have to start hustling in our late teens if we want to end up on top, young Rockefellers are described in Collier's and Horowitz's book as spending their twenties luxuriating in indecision, testing out various options, making their life plans with no urgency or sense of lost possibilities.

Because meritocracy imposes so many deprivations, those who manage to succeed within it hold a special grudge against those who are able to cut corners, including the rich. We may need the security their institutions provide, and envy the sense of tradition and community their money buys, but deep down, we're full of resentment. The rich—the bastards—can break the rules and get away with it.

The rich seem to have both the freedom and security, and that may

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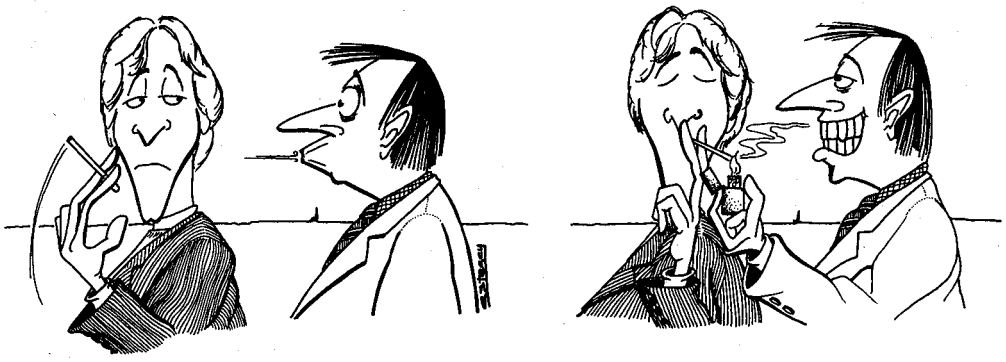

Illustrated by Chuck Steacy

be what makes their lives—however fruitlessly pursued—so enviable. The tragedy for the rest of us is that we feel it's necessary to choose between the two. Most of the time, most people choose security.

An Upward March

I don't want to dismiss this choice outright. For people without money—who aren't willing to expose their families to unnecessary risks—the responsible, secure career path can seem the only rational choice. To put the matter in personal terms, many readers of this magazine probably share a debt similar to that which I owe my parents, who accustomed themselves to a controlled, disciplined, upward march—a life based on the fundamental importance of security—partly so that their children could have the freedom to experiment with ill-paid professions like journalism. With so many of us having similar stories to tell, it would be foolish to dismiss the sacrifices that were made on our behalf.

The desire for security is even more understandable a few rungs down the economic ladder, in a place like Pittsburgh. People who haven't visited a mill town recently may tend to forget that there is still a class of people in places like Pittsburgh whose security is dependent on the whims of the business cycle. When it's booming, they're raking in overtime pay. When it's flat, they're thrown out of work.

Economists characterize this element of a company's workforce—the class of people who get "laid off" when times are bad—as the firm's "variable costs." Their insecurity and consequent mobility, it is argued, contribute to the efficiency of the economy. Life is different on the other side of the tracks. Economists, for example, are *not* "variable costs" at all—they would be offended at the very idea. Most of them already have or are fighting to get tenure, giving them an unshakable spot in the other class—the "fixed-cost" class. Once they've arrived, they'll never have to worry about getting laid off if the demand for algebraic topology should suddenly die. Like most white-collar workers, their employment costs will be absorbed by whatever bureaucracy they've made their home.

But for those blue-collar workers—those hapless variable costs—is it any wonder that the desire for security is so strong? When a layoff or strike can still sabotage a family's ability to meet payments on a house or car, is it surprising that people tend to be cautious, conservative, and averse to the risks of full self-expression? Or that sons and daughters of mill hands

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"While the rest of us have to start hustling in our late teens if we want to end up on top, young Rockefellers are described as spending their twenties luxuriating in indecision, testing out various options, making their life plans with no urgency or sense of lost possibilities."

who've managed to get to college and climb aboard the fixed-cost gravy train tend to guard their positions on it?

But many members of the fixed-cost class have the talent or the money to do what they want in the world. And for this group the security rationale just isn't convincing. They are meritocrats, and they probably don't worry too often about getting laid off or going hungry.

Meritocracy ought to be a means toward liberation and full self-expression. And people who succeed within it ought to be the freest citizens of all. This should be true especially at a time like now, when the class immediately above them—the dynastic families with inherited money and power, epitomized by the Rockefellers and Kennedys—is so clearly in disarray. Meritocracy also ought to be an irresistible force for efficiency, competence, and innovation—sweeping away fat-headed, time-wasting, card-punching bureaucracy.

Of course, meritocracy isn't those

The New York Times recently published an article on the eating habits of the rich that is an almost perfect illustration of our ambivalence toward them. The desire to put down is accompanied by a powerful curiosity about how they really live:

"If the rich appear to eat little, it is not simply because of a desire to stay thin. There is also a feeling that eating a lot, or setting out a lavish meal, is a bit vulgar. There is the Puritan notion that eating extravagantly is like consorting with call girls—it's catering to your weaknesses, your baser instincts. If the rich tend not to buy or serve expensive foods, it's because there's not much you can do with these things. You can't, for instance, toss Beluga caviar into a salad. Finally, there is a feeling among the rich that eating is not much more than a dreary necessity. You have to eat. You cannot, alas, survive on gin-and-tonics alone.

"If you have ever studied the buffet tables at the clubs frequented by the rich, you will see exactly what the rich like to eat: deviled eggs, cocktail onions, smoked oysters on Melba rounds, thick club sandwiches, half a waterlogged lobster with Hellmann's mayonnaise, cold collapsed broiled overdone roast beef with rubbery Yorkshire pudding. The rich think that the food produced by their clubs is fabulous because that is exactly what they serve at home.

"Here are some other items eaten and served extensively by the rich:

"**Snacks and Hors d'Oeuvres:** Crackers are very important. Most rich people do their own marketing because if they entrusted this to servants, their servants would clip them. They spend a great deal of time in the cracker department, buying everything from Carr's water biscuits to Triscuits and Fritos. For an hors d'oeuvre, bottled Vienna sausages—or anything that

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"Thus, the mystique for the rest of us of Hyannisport and Pocantico Hills: the family compound, where each member of the family can return each summer to experience community, continuity, and renewal."

things, or at least it isn't yet. Because people with brains have allowed themselves to become prisoners of people with money—and live captive within the bureaucracies that money and power have created—meritocracy has somehow become entwined with the rot in our society.

The rich are losing their hold. The "A" students are already our new ruling class. So they might as well believe in themselves—and in their right to creative self-expression.

It's not just their awe the meritocrats have to overcome to be truly free, but their resentment as well. Last year *The New York Times Magazine* commissioned James Fallows, a former editor of this magazine, to write a piece about Teddy Kennedy. Fallows came back with a favorable piece, saying that despite all his flaws Kennedy was a first-rate senator; the *Times* rejected it. The nature of our prejudice towards the rich has changed, but the prejudice itself lives on. The final, exhilarating leap into total indifference has yet to be made. ■

can be served on a toothpick and dipped into a communal bowl of mustard—are universally favored. So are celery hearts and frozen mini-pizzas. (If you have ever looked into a rich person's larder, you will see that most of his diet comes out of tins, jars and packages.)

"**Soups**: The soup course is also important to the rich. The soup may often be clear and thin, but it could be canned vichyssoise. In summer, it will usually be canned jellied madrilene topped with a dollop of sour cream in which a few tiny grains of caviar can be spotted. The truly adventurous will take canned cream of chicken soup, put it in a blender with ice cubes and some curry powder, and come up with something called 'Senegalese.'

"**Salads**: Salads are reserved for lunch, and generally omitted at dinner. Tuna salad, ungarnished by pimento, served on a limp lettuce leaf, is the universal favorite. Tuna salad may also be stuffed into an avocado half. All this is accompanied by unbuttered toast or hard rolls (each roll is to be broken in half and its innards scooped out of the crust with the fingers). Butter is reserved for those little bread-and-butter sandwiches.

"**Vegetables**: Peas, canned or frozen, are the hands-down number one rich people's vegetable.

"**Gourmet Treats** (reserved for special occasions such as engagement parties): Smoked salmon, caviar, oysters, cheese souffles.

"**Desserts**: Anything soft and sticky and sweet, served with ice cream and ladled over with canned cherry or chocolate sauce.

"With any of the above, you can eat like a rich person—and forget about trying to undercook your vegetables."

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Who's Who in the Carter Administration

THE WHITE HOUSE

Legislative Liaison under Frank Moore—Robert Thompson was an aide to the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee.

Deputy in Charge of Congressional Liaison Staff for House—Bill Cable was staff director and counsel for the House Administration Committee.

Spokesman for the Office of Management and Budget—Robert Dietsch was a veteran reporter for the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain.

Assistant Director for the Presidential Council on Wage and Price Stability—Tom Joyce was *Newsweek*'s labor editor.

AGRICULTURE

Director, Office of Congressional and Public Affairs—James Webster was clerk and press secretary for the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry and has been press secretary to George McGovern.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Food and Consumer Services—Syd Butler is a Memphis attorney who was the national coordinator of the Carter-Mondale rural campaign.

COMMERCE

Assistant Secretary for Tourism—Fabian Chavez, Jr. was director of the New Mexico Department of Development and is highly regarded by the travel industry. He was recommended by the Hispanic caucus.

Chief Economist—Courtenay Slater served as a senior economist with the President's Council on Economic Advisors under Johnson.

Counsellor for Congressional Affairs—Andrew Manatof worked for Senator Thomas Eagleton, along with Gene Godley, who is now Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs at Treasury, and Douglas Bennet, who is now Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations at State. He is also a friend of Deputy Under Secretary Anne Wexler.

Director of the Census—Manuel Plotkin was associate director of corporate planning and research for Sears, Roebuck, and Company in Chicago.

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These listings are a new regular feature of The Washington Monthly. *They began in May with a compendium of the Carter administration's appointments through the closing date for that issue, and will continue with each month's appointments and resignations. Copies of the May issue may be obtained by sending a check for $2 to Who's Who, The Washington Monthly, 1028 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036.*

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Reserve Affairs—John T. White was a senior vice-president of the Rand Corporation.

Assistant Secretary for Program Analysis and Evaluation—Russell Murray was director of review at the Center of Naval Analysis and has been a DOD official.

General Counsel—Deanne Siemer was a partner in the Washington firm of Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering.

Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research and Development—Percy Pierre was Dean of the Howard University School of Engineering and is an old friend of Army Secretary Clifford Alexander.

Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installation and Logistics—Allan Gibbs was deputy commissioner of New Jersey's Department of Human Services and met Army Secretary Alexander when they both were at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Logistics—Edward Hidalgo was the General Counsel for the USIA.

Director of the National Civil Defense Preparedness Agency—Bardyl Tirana was co-chairman of Carter's inaugural committee and had worked for Carter's campaign since November 1975. His executive assistant will be **Angela Novello**, who was Robert Kennedy's and more recently Edward Bennett Williams' personal secretary.

Chief of Staff at NATO—James Allen was superintendent of the U. S. Air Force Academy and will now be promoted to full general.

Commander of the Strategic Air Command—General Richard Ellis was chief of U. S. air forces in Europe.

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HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Assistant Secretary for Health—Dr. Julius Richmond was one of Harvard's leading medical professors and a founder of Project Head Start.

Director of Office for Civil Rights—David Tatel is a civil rights lawyer and was director of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. **Cynthia Brown** will be deputy director for compliance and enforcement and **Wilbert Cheatham** will be deputy director for program review.

Director of the Center for Disease Control—Dr. William Foege served as assistant director for operations at the Center for Disease Control.

Deputy General Counsel—Richard Beatty was a partner in the New York law firm of Simpson, Thatcher, and Bartlett.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

President of Government National Mortgage Association—John Dalton was with the investment banking firm of Goldman, Sachs, and Co. He was finance chairman of the Dallas Democrats and Texas deputy campaign director of the Carter-Mondale campaign.

INTERIOR

Assistant Secretary for Policy, Budget, and Administration—Robert Mendelsohn was a San Francisco City Supervisor who may have nomination troubles because he still has political debts of over $150,000 outstanding.

Assistant to the Secretary for State and Federal Relations—Joe Nagel was special assistant to Governor Andrus in Idaho.

Assistant to the Secretary and Director of Public Affairs—Chris Carlson was Governor Andrus' press secretary.

Assistant to the Secretary for Alaska Planning—Curtis Bohlen is a career civil servant who was chairman of the department's Alaska planning group.

Director of Bureau of Outdoor Recreation—Chris Delaporte was executive director of a division of the North Georgia Mountain Authority during Carter's governorship and most recently has been Oklahoma State Park director.

Director of Office of Territorial Affairs—Ruth Van Cleve held the same position during the Johnson administration.

Commissioner of Bureau of Reclamation—Keith Higginson served as Idaho's director of department of water resources under Andrus.

Commissioner of Trust Territories—Adrian Winkel was a consultant on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

JUSTICE

Administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—James Hamilton was assistant chief counsel of the Senate Watergate Committee.

LABOR

Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service—Wayne Horvitz is a labor mediator who since 1974 has served as chairman of the Joint Labor Management Committee of the retail food industry and was recommended for this job by Ray Marshall.

Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board—John Fanning has been an NLRB member since 1957 and will take over from Betty Murphy.

Administrator of Pension and Welfare Benefit Programs—Ian Lanoff was associate counsel for the Senate Labor Committee and has been counsel for the Teamsters Union. He will be in charge of investigating the Teamsters' pension fund.

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STATE

Ambassador to China—Leonard Woodcock is the retiring president of the United Auto Workers who delivered much of the labor vote for Carter in the election.

Ambassador to Hungary—Philip Kaiser was an ambassador under Kennedy and Johnson and Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs under Truman.

Ambassador to Austria—Milt Wolf is a liberal Cleveland businessman, a long-time supporter of John Glenn, and helped raise substantial money for Carter for the Ohio primary.

Ambassador to Saudi Arabia—John C. West was governor of South Carolina when Carter was governor of Georgia and was one of Carter's early backers.

Ambassador to France—Arthur Hartman is a career diplomat who was Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs under both Kissinger and Vance.

Ambassador to Peru—Harry Shlaudeman is a career foreign service officer who was ambassador to Chile immediately preceeding the overthrow of Allende.

Ambassador to Turkey—Ronald Spiers has worked at the State Department since 1955 and most recently was deputy chief of mission in London.

Ambassador to Cameroon—Mable Smythe was vice president of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in New York.

Ambassador to Finland—Rozanna Ridgeway is a career foreign service officer.

Ambassador to Nepal—Douglas Heck is a career foreign service officer.

Ambassador to Pakistan—Arthur W. Hummel was an assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and an ambassador to Ethiopia and Burma, and replaces Carter's earlier nominee, **George S. Vest**, who is being kept in Washington as Assistant Secretary for European Affairs.

TRANSPORTATION

Administrator of the Federal Railroad Administration—John Sullivan was a Naval Academy classmate of Carter's.

Administrator of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration—Richard Page was executive director of Transportation Secretary Brock Adams' hometown, Seattle.

AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

Deputy Director of United States Information Agency—Charles Bray III is a career diplomat who was a deputy assistant Secretary of State and spokesman for William Rodgers.

Administrator of NASA—Robert Frosch was deputy director of Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute in Massachusetts and has been an assistant secretary of the Navy.

Director of the National Science Foundation—Richard Atkinson has been acting director since August 1976 and deputy director since 1975. He is an experimental psychologist and an applied mathematician.

Deputy Chief of Arms Control and Disarmament Agency—Spurgeon Keeny Jr. is a long-time arms control expert who most recently headed a Ford Foundation study on nuclear power.

Associate Director of ACTION for Domestic Operations—John Lewis lost a recent race for Andrew Young's congressional seat and in the sixties was chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. (Probable)

Chairman of Civil Aeronautics Board—Alfred E. Kahn is chairman of the New York State Public Service Commission. (Probable)

RESIGNATIONS

The White House

Legislative Liasion to the House of Representatives—Fredrick Merrill.

Personal Secretary to Mrs. Carter and Director of Correspondence—Helen Dougherty.

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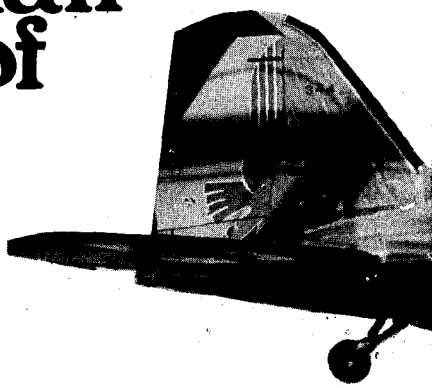
How the Government Drove the Small Airlines Out of Business



by Corey Rosen

In the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum, there hangs a 30-seat DC-3—the venerable mainstay of commercial aviation in America for decades. Until recently, an aggressive, abrasive, Californian named Richard Neumann was trying to assemble an entire fleet of these planes and fly them coast-to-coast. He would have charged $119 each way for the 14-hour trip, and his passengers would have had to bring their own food. Regular flights on scheduled jets make the trip in less than six hours, cost $206 (economy fare), and provide free meals. Neumann was sure that thousands of people would gladly bear the inconveniences to save $83—he was saying, in fact, that he already had names of enough interested people to fill six months of flights. This spring, when the major airlines, partly in response to the plans of people like Neumann, started extra-low "super-saver" coast-to-coast prices on a one-year experimental basis, Neumann cut his proposed fare to $80 one-way and changed his proposed carriers to jets. He is nothing if not determined that he can make money on cut-rate airline service.

Corey Rosen is an aide to Senator James Abourezk.

Still, he's not optimistic about his chances. The Civil Aeronautics Board has harrassed him and other small airline operators for years, and despite some signals from Jimmy Carter and others that things might change, past experience does not bode well for them.

The federal government makes a great show of supporting the American free-enterprise spirit generally and small business in particular. There is a Small Business Administration and corresponding committees in Congress. But the fact is that the government neither encourages small business nor even leaves it alone; often it is actively hostile to entrepreneurs and concentrates on protecting huge, stultified corporations to small business' great disadvantage. The airline industry is an especially egregious case of the government's harassing entrepreneurs and acting precisely counter to the innovative spirit it says it's trying to promote.

Neumann's problems with the CAB go back to the 1950s. He was one of a large group of true entrepreneurs, men and women who took tremendous financial risks to develop small, inno-

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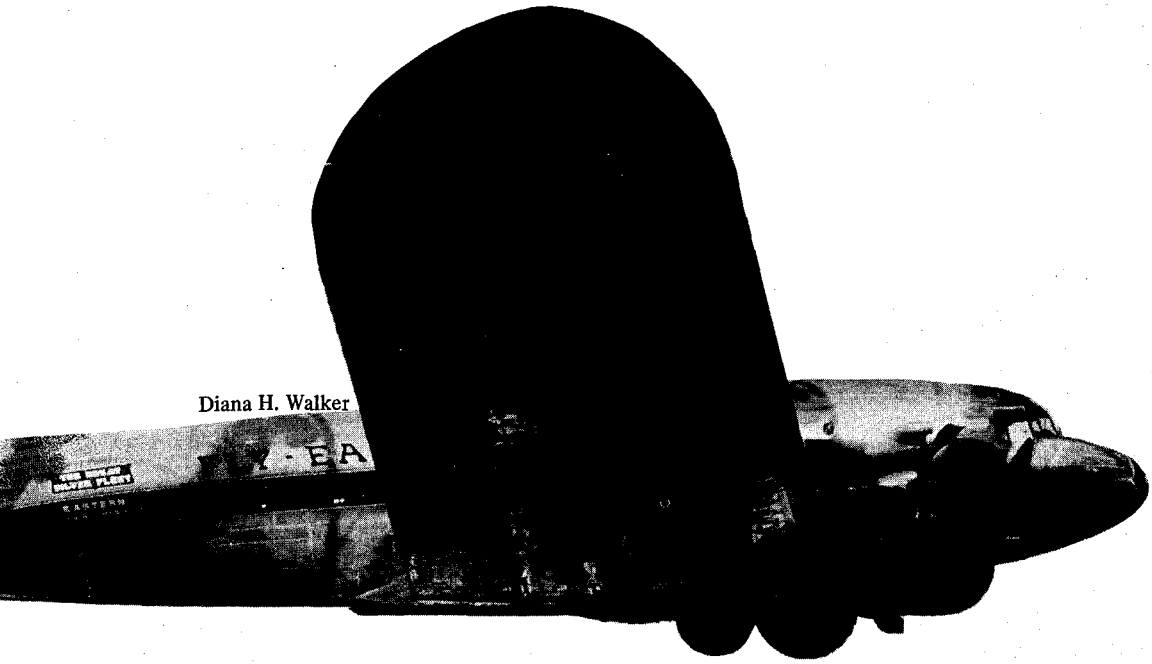

Diana H. Walker

vative businesses. These people were the owners of the so-called non-scheduled airlines—mostly small companies that flew a variety of low-cost operations outside the scheduled air transport system. After World War II, there were 142 such airlines. Largely due to CAB regulations, there are now only six, and none of the survivors—now called supplementals—are small businesses. The best known is World Airways, whose flamboyant president, Ed Daly, is best remembered for his role in the Vietnam evacuation.

In contrast to the carnage among the non-skeds, as they're called, no major airline has ever gone out of business, although some have merged. It is not surprising, however, that non-skeds have been largely or solely responsible for the development of such low-cost innovations as domestic and international charters, all-cargo flights, and economy fares (in the early fifties, the major carriers considered flying a strictly first-class affair).

At the end of World War II many returning veterans were interested in continuing to fly. Because the government wanted to sell its surplus equipment, it created a program to meet the demand. In a very short period of time, this resulted in 142 airline companies, the majority of them very small. These companies were given the status of non-scheduled carriers, meaning they could perform any irregularly scheduled air transport functions. Although they flew less than five per cent of the total passenger miles, the non-skeds proved to be a dynamic force in the industry. Their main attractions were low price and a willingness to explore new markets. Generally, they charged one half to two thirds the scheduled carriers' fares. In the Korean airlift, for instance, one non-sked charged 1.17 cents per ton mile, while the scheduled carriers charged between 1.6 and 1.75 cents. In carrying freight to Alaska, which was very costly, the non-skeds averaged 23 cents per ton mile, compared to Pan Am's 89 cents. United States Overseas Airlines started freight service to Okinawa at one third to one half of Pan Am's cost.

The non-skeds expanded their low-cost concept into major markets with irregularly scheduled coach flights. These low-cost flights had been shunned by the scheduled carriers as unprofitable—for them, air travel was a luxury item only. As the non-skeds expanded this service, however, their flights became more and more regular, and the major airlines and the CAB

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became increasingly concerned. A secret Board memorandum in the late 1940s detailed a plan to eradicate the non-skeds under the cover of legitimate regulation:

"Either procedure [certification hearings or denying letters of registration] has the advantage of affording means for ultimately terminating the operations of this group of carriers. A second reason in favor of either proposal is that it should not lay the Board open to criticism for stamping out, without due process, these carriers which they have permitted to come into being. Accordingly, termination of such carriers' letters of registration would appear a fair and natural conclusion."

Apparently this plan was put into effect, for by 1953 the Senate Small Business Committee had concluded that the entire non-sked industry was on the verge of being wiped out by the CAB. The committee strongly denounced the Board, and called on it to create a place for the non-skeds.

A Slow Death

What in fact happened was a slow rather than a quick death. The Board issued a series of Catch-22 regulations that made it impossible for all but a few carriers to remain in business. Michael Levine, a former CAB staffer who is now Luce Professor of Law at the University of Southern California and the California Institute of Technology, told the Small Business Committee last October, "The Board was attempting to create conditions, in my opinion that made [the non-skeds] operations economically non-viable, in the hopes that they would go away." Non-skeds were restricted at one point, for instance, to ten trips per month between any two points on an irregular basis. Rules for determining regularity were exceptionally complex: one carrier testified that his operations were temporarily suspended because he submitted his proposed tariffs in the wrong kind of binder.

If carriers stayed within the regulations they could not make money, so their operating rights were revoked for financial insufficiency (the Board feared that economically weak carriers would cut corners on safety, although the non-skeds had an exceptional safety record during this period). If the carriers found ways to evade the regulations, they had their rights revoked for "willful violations."

Former CAB commissioner General Joseph Adams testified that when it found a violation, the Board was prone simply to put the carrier out of business, rather than issue a cease and desist order. Scheduled carriers have been guilty of substantial violations of the law, but the thought of revoking their operating rights has been unthinkable to the CAB. Richard Neumann's California Air Charter was one of the casualties of the "willful violator" approach. Neumann tried again in the sixties, but the CAB would not allow him a certificate, because he was a past violator.

At the same time, the Board was conducting a lengthy investigation into the entire question of non-scheduled carriers, with an eye towards granting formal certificates of operating authority to at least some of them. The hearings lasted several years, however, and the uncertainty of the carriers' status during this time made it extremely difficult for them to attract credit. Investors naturally shied away from businesses whose right to exist could be taken away at any moment. As a result, many of the non-skeds, unable to buy new equipment because they had no capital, simply folded. One cannot even imagine the CAB allowing major carriers to go out of business because it was unable to decide what to do about a pending case. Small businesses are apparently expendable; large businesses, no matter how well or poorly managed, are apparently not.

By 1959 Board regulations and rulings—as well as poor management and a lack of market in some cases—

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had reduced the number of non-skeds to about 25. During the late fifties and early sixties there were a series of court cases and finally a comprehensive federal statute on the subject of non-scheduled carriers. The term "non-scheduled" was replaced by "supplemental." The CAB interpreted the new law as restricting supplementals to charter service only, and in the sixties it issued extraordinarily restrictive rules for operating those charters. One set of regulations allowed affinity-group charters only—to charter an airplane, a group had to be an organization of some sort, thus restricting the benefits of charter travel—to a tiny fraction of the flying public. Later, the Board allowed other charters, too, but only if the carrier made three stops and charged 110 per cent of the scheduled fare—a deal that is hard to imagine anyone wanting.

The only other source of revenue for the supplementals during the sixties was military business. The military contracts with commercial carriers for a number of its air transport needs. Until 1960 this was done on a competitive-bid basis. The competition for the contracts was severe, and some carriers lost money performing them. After 1960, however, the Department of Defense and the CAB began a new policy that replaced competitive bids with long-run, minimum-rate contracts. As part of their contract obligation, airlines had to pledge to commit a certain number of their planes to the military in case of an emergency. Only a small number of carriers received the contracts. Among the supplementals, the few carriers receiving military contracts profited significantly, but those left out collapsed.

The owners of the airlines that folded during this time are bitter about the choice of carriers for military business. They point out that one carrier, Southern Air Transport, was owned by the CIA and that four others were represented by a law firm whose senior partner, Eugene Zuckert, had been an Assistant Secretary of the Air Force in the early fifties and became Secretary of the Air Force around the time the contracts were awarded. Zuckert, now a Washington lawyer, has vigorously denied any effort on his behalf to influence the decisions, and the committee staff could neither confirm nor repudiate them.

Plenty of Trouble

The sixties, then, were trying times for the supplementals. The seventies have brought liberalized charter rules (still restrictive by European standards), but the CAB has limited the number of carriers it allows to fly those charters. Even the few that are certified have a hard time competing against the scheduled carriers, whose size and advertising make them seem more reliable to potential customers—even though they are no safer and no cheaper. The major airlines are also flying charter trips on their own, so they dominate the supplementals' turf as well as their own. And the CAB continues to give the supplementals plenty of trouble.

Daly's World Airways, for instance, had a long-standing application to fly a scheduled coast-to-coast service for less than one half the scheduled rate. Daly would have used the old non-sked approach—nearly full planes (the low fares would assure that), less busy airports, and, innovatively, Ticketron outlets for sales. The plan is widely regarded as very practical. The CAB, however, after refusing to hear the matter for years, dismissed it as stale, saying that the law did not permit it to grant scheduled authority to supplementals. A recent ruling by a federal appeals court concluded that the CAB was wrong and directed the Board to hear the case.

Universal Airlines was another supplemental that suffered a fate that could not have been allowed to strike a large corporation. Universal had very limited operating rights and found that it was unable to make money. It could not get the CAB to expand its

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authority, so in 1971 it purchased, with CAB approval, a failing supplemental, American Flyers, which had the transatlantic rights Universal wanted. While delays in CAB approval caused Universal to lose much of the summer tourist business it needed, it still cornered a good share of the transatlantic market. By 1972, however, when it was in the midst of purchasing a 747, the CAB revoked Universal's transatlantic rights. As a result, Universal went out of business. The CAB had determined that there were too many carriers in the market.

Aside from the question of why the CAB should concern itself with making sure every existing airline can make a profit, this case reveals a disturbing situation: the CAB approved Universal's purchase of the debt-ridden American Flyers—a purchase whose sole purpose was the acquisition of transatlantic rights—at the same time it was deciding to restrict the number of carriers in that area. American Flyers' transatlantic authority was, under the rule being developed, an almost certain casualty.

Not only has the CAB put supplementals out of business by the dozens, it has also ignored some seemingly well-qualified applicants and set up obstacles so difficult that many would-be carriers are discouraged from even thinking about applying. Many small airline company owners would like to operate as supplementals, but they see no chance of their applications being approved and they cannot afford to waste the hundreds of thousands of dollars that filing an application would cost.

American supplementals are not the only small carriers that have suffered. One of the most bizarre cases ever involved Air Europe, which in 1973 planned to fly from Tijuana to Luxembourg for 33 to 55 per cent less than scheduled rates. All of the proper arrangements had been made with Mexico and Luxembourg. Since the flights would cross the U.S., the Federal Aviation Authority approved those safety aspects of the operation that concerned the U.S. The CAB had no authority to regulate the flights, but it saw the Air Europe approach as a way of avoiding U.S. regulations—which, of course, it was. Lacking authority, the CAB resorted to leaking reports to the press that it would find a way to stop the operation. One report even suggested boarding the planes with federal air marshals. With all this uncertainty, many travel agents and passengers who had flocked to the low rates decided not to risk being skyjacked by the federal government. Air Europe never took off. The company could not even sue the CAB, since the CAB had taken no official action.

Never a Threat

All this strict regulation stands in sharp contrast to the CAB's attitude towards scheduled carriers. While supplementals have been put out of business after violating CAB regulations once or twice, scheduled carriers have been found to have engaged in massive rebates and kickbacks on tickets in the North Atlantic market; have been found guilty of violating campaign finance laws; have recently been indicted for price-fixing; and have been sued for overbooking passengers. Yet they have never been threatened with an alteration of their operating rights. Non-skeds and supplementals have frequently been forced to shut down by the CAB if they were found to be financially shaky, yet when major carriers are on the verge of bankruptcy, as some have been recently, the CAB and the government scratch their heads to find ways to save them.

The loss at government hands of the entrepreneurs who run small businesses is a tragedy for this country. Men like Richard Neumann are a vital national resource. Neumann will take enormous risks in terms of finances, reputation, and ego. If there were free entry into the airline industry, I suspect he would be one of the first in line. His is an entrepreneurial spirit we cannot afford to destroy. ■

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Memo of the Month

Legislative Document (1974) No. 92

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

TEMPORARY COMMISSION OF INVESTIGATION
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

TO

THE GOVERNOR AND THE LEGISLATURE

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK

SEPTEMBER 1974

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Sorting Out the Sixties

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by Nicholas Lemann

This year, the proper length of time having passed, the 1960s are getting totemized. A feeling is in the air that at last that confusing decade can be puzzled out; its social changes, so controversial abirthing, seem to be either generally accepted (like marijuana or the sexual revolution) or by and large forgotten (like LSD or political violence). Now that all the turbulence has died down, we can sit back and decide what really changed and what didn't, and fix an enduring image in our minds.

That process, however, easy as it sounds, isn't producing very satisfactory results. Everyone can agree that a lot went on during the sixties, and that activity can easily be documented. But as to how it bears on the present day—well, that is proving a knotty question indeed.

It's tempting to dismiss the sixties (which, of course, like the twenties, stretched their calendar boundaries a little) as having been chiefly a great boom time for self-indulgence, brought on by a great boom in the economy. This was, after all, a decade during which the nation's population went up five per cent while money spent on personal consumption, personal income, and disposable income all about doubled (in real, inflation-adjusted terms). Statistics like that are bound to filter down into people's lives, especially young people's lives, by creating an atmosphere of expanded options and choices. The options certainly were taken advantage of, but usually not in ways of great lasting consequence.

There's no better ammunition for this theory than Sara Davidson's new book *Loose Change: Three Women of the Sixties*, a group biography and, implicitly, a "social history" of the decade. Its three heroines go through a conglomeration of experiments, locales, lovers, and philosophies that are exhausting even to read about. They start out as sorority sisters at Berkeley, daughters of the California upper-middle class, and over the next few years move through drugs, radical politics, men, and mysticism, among other things. No wonder they end their odysseys sounding worn out and not greatly concerned with social experimentation. One is now an art dealer, one a writer, one a medical student; all lead quiet, settled lives.

The overall impression is that the sixties were nothing but a temporary upheaval—an impression that is in part intended but that comes through even stronger than Davidson seems to have wanted. It's annoying to read about women who have so much freedom and do so little that is productive—or even enjoyable—with it. When one character says at the end that she's slept with more than a hundred men since college, affairs that were all unsatisfying, it seems obvious that she would have been happier

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keeping it down to one or two. Similarly, it's hard for the sympathies to go out to lives that follow patterns like this, from one character's description of a relatively settled year:

"The last year has been so bizarre. I left a spectacular home with a distinguished sculptor and started sleeping on the floor at Rachel and Greg's. I got involved with a Tai Chi instructor. Then I apprenticed myself to a Hassidic rabbi . . . . "

These women, even the one portrayed as a radical, show no particular concern with the problems of the world or even of other people. As for their own problems, those are generally dealt with by simply leaving them behind and going on to something new. Their deepest conviction is that their parents' way of living won't bring them happiness—but their protracted search for alternatives only makes them unhappy, and in the end they settle down in a way not wildly different from their parents' after all.

The traces of Davidson's sixties are clearly present today—the refusal to work difficult situations out, the preoccupation with self, the ideal of a happiness that comes unfettered by complexity or responsibility. It's easy to imagine members of the *Loose Change* generation sitting around the living room in the summer of 1977, just back from the bookstore with Mildred Newman and Bernard Berkowitz's new handbook, *How To Take Charge of Your Life*, lost in the ardent study of passages like this one:

"It's . . . a good exercise to imagine what it would be like if you were newborn at this very moment with no past and no history.

"What would you like to be like?

"What kind of person would you like to be, given a fresh start?"

The fresh start, the ability to be whatever one wants, no matter what—these are the ideals that live on. The recession of the early seventies may have very quickly poleaxed the various lifestyle changes Davidson describes, but a large part of the impulse behind those changes remains.

But the sixties have left us more valuable legacies than that. Particularly in three areas—attitudes toward race, bureaucracy, and sex—Americans have progressed greatly in the last 15 years, and the roots of the progress lie precisely in the affluence and the sense of possibility that created the *Loose Change* culture. The decade's boom gave people the luxury of not being forced to accept anything as an unalterable condition of their lives, and hence the ability to reject outright what was clearly undesirable. This attitude extended past lifestyles to broader political and social questions; just as one didn't have to get a traditional job for a while, or marry, one didn't have to accept as given the ills of society. Instead of having to see life as a series of compromises, people could divide it into good and bad and refuse to participate in the bad.

This attitude infused the politics of the sixties; the "radicalization" people went through at the time often meant being able to condemn something as just plain wrong and then trying to stop it, rather than working within the slow process of compromise, consensus, and gradual change that envelopes most of politics. The idea of drawing the line somewhere is a good one, and it should not be lost with changing times.

A great fringe benefit of line-drawing is its ripple effect, which causes the drawing of more and more lines, and much of the political history of the sixties can be understood in terms of this phenomenon. Once people have decided to work at stopping something that is just plain wrong, their perception of other just-plain-wrongs is heightened, and eventually movements to put a halt to them develop.

Tribal Hatred

The first line of the sixties was drawn in the South, over segregation, and its results have had a lasting significance. Of course, the gap be-

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tween black and white opportunity and prosperity, which the civil rights movement set forth to close, has remained depressingly constant over the past decade, and consequently the movement's accomplishments aren't as clear as they should be, especially to Northerners. To Southerners, even if the schools are still largely segregated and incomes still widely disparate, it's obvious that a change of great importance took place. I spent the sixties growing up in New Orleans and I saw it happen. To put it in its proper context, there was formerly in the South a condition of tribal hatred such as stubbornly exists in places all over the world, and during the sixties it somehow ceased to exist.

Civil rights was the central social upheaval in the sixties in New Orleans. It was an obsession. I can hardly remember any length of time between 1965 and 1970 when I didn't hear or participate in some discussion of race relations, nearly every one involving the most heated of feelings. These discussions by and large didn't concentrate on such delicate issues as busing or affirmative action; it's now hard to believe, but among whites the issue at hand, day after day, was whether blacks were in fact human beings and therefore whether they deserved treatment as such. New Orleans changed later in this respect than most of the South; until 1969 or 1970, among the whites I knew, the human-being camp was a decided minority. It was really impossible to discuss the issue in terms more complex than that. To the best of my knowledge, this was the prevailing attitude of the Southern white professional class, and among other whites, I can only assume it was the same.

By 1971, in my little corner of the world, all this had changed completely. Not only was integration generally accepted as a desirable goal; not only did respectable people keep their racist views wholly to themselves; but what out-and-out segregationists remained were widely regarded as

Washington, D.C., 1971: antiwar demonstrators gather in front of the Justice Department. Wide World Photo

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unbalanced kooks. Now and then the newspapers would write stories on the old segs, presenting them in a where-are-they-now tone as comical, pathetic figures. Say what you will about lingering injustice and muted appeals to racism—it's all true. Nevertheless, a sea change had taken place.

In 1969 New Orleans elected its first mayor who openly appealed to the black vote. In 1970 City Hall, previously all white, was filled with black political appointees. In 1971, for the first time in years, no openly segregationist candidate for governor made it to the second primary. In 1972 the first articles were written about rich and powerful black political bosses, men no aspirant to office could afford to ignore. The city buses were completely and casually integrated by then. Black families could move into a neighborhood and the whites wouldn't move out. Race, so long an obsession, continued to be an obsession—one overheard blacks and whites discussing it casually with one another all the time.

One part of the impetus for this change—of the other parts, more later—was the efforts of the white Northern college students who came South in the early sixties to work for civil rights. Most of them did so thinking they were reforming an aberrant section of America. When they went back home, with their heightened moral sensitivities, they started to draw more lines and attack a host of other ills. The connection between the civil rights movement and the student movement is plain as day. In the Port Huron Statement, the first document of the Students for a Democratic Society and of student radicalism generally, the prime cause of student disaffection with the American consensus is listed as "the Southern struggle against racial bigotry"; it was this, the signers say, that "compelled most of us from silence to activism."

The first target of that activism was the universities. The sixties saw a doubling of enrollments in institutions of higher education, and the increase didn't mean that small colleges were springing up all over America; the big universities were getting bigger. The bureaucratization of American life was widespread during the sixties—in the business world, for instance, corporate receipts rose 125 per cent, receipts of proprietorships and partnerships only 25 per cent—but nowhere was it more pronounced, or more sharply noticed, than on the campuses. Godfrey Hodgson, in his sixties book, *America in Our Time*, points out that the early student demonstrations, like the one at Berkeley that started the women of *Loose Change* on their journeys, were really antibureaucratic rather than political. He cites a convincing theory that the students of the sixties grew up in an extremely personalized home setting, thus making the transition into extremely depersonalized universities especially pronounced.

During the fifties the bureaucratic life in big corporations was criticized in books like *The Organization Man* and *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*; in the sixties the net was cast much wider—to universities, to the government, to other institutions of the public sector. The students' understanding of what moral and personal dangers lay behind the bland faces of large institutions eventually worked its way into the population at large. Today, it's hardly possible to pick up a newspaper without seeing some evidence of a deep public mistrust of these institutions and their effects. Fifteen years ago that mistrust wasn't widely held in America, just as the assumption of racial equality wasn't widely held. Thanks to the sixties, it now is.

New-Complete Quiescence

The civil rights movement also, in a slightly different way, helped produce the women's movement of the late sixties and early seventies, which itself has produced another positive, lasting change. Feminism in America had

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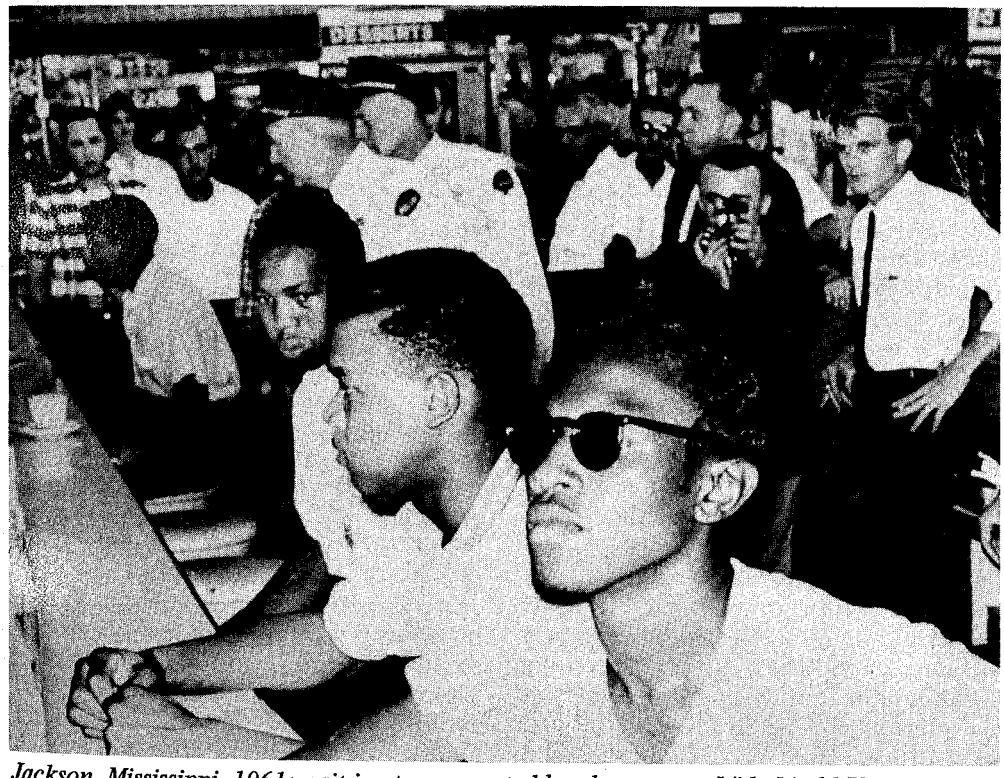
been in a state of near-complete quiescence for more than 40 years. Women were urged from all corners to devote their lives solely to the noble pursuits of housekeeping, cooking, and childraising, and until the publication of Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 there was no wide disputation of this vision.

What really fanned the flames was civil rights, which made the women involved in it start thinking seriously about sexism. Like other sixties political movements, civil rights was no more sexist than the mainstream of American life, but it was, perhaps, more fierce about it. Women were relegated to minor supportive chores while men made all the decisions. The ethos of the movement was summed up when someone asked Stokely Carmichael what the position of women in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee ought to be, and he answered, "Prone." When it was muted and took place in the consensus atmosphere of most of American life, this attitude was tolerated; open, and taking place in an atmosphere of absolute opposition to wrong, it was not. In 1966 two female vivil rights workers, Casey Hayden and Mary King (now deputy director of the federal agency ACTION) published an attack on SNCC's treatment of women that was a seminal document in the movement. Over the next few years, the feminist cause was continually spurred by women's disillusionment with the attitudes of the political causes they had been working in, like SDS and the antiwar movement (where "Chicks say yes to guys who say no" was a popular slogan).

(The connection between civil rights and feminism is long-standing, not limited just to the sixties. The generally accepted launching date of the American women's movement is 1848, when the first women's rights convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York, organized by women abolitionists who had gotten fed up with their repeated exclusion from meet-



Jackson, Mississippi, 1961: a sit-in at a segregated lunch counter. Wide World Photo

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ings of the American and World Anti-Slavery Societies. Apparently it's a home truth that ills that are invisible in the texture of everyday life stand out in sharp relief when they are carried over into reform movements.)

Today, although some of the wind has gone out of its sails, it's clear the women's movement's effects have lasted. It's not that discrimination against women has been eliminated so much as that it is now firmly and widely recognized as discrimination. This was simply not the case 20 or even 15 years ago.

The Climate of Freedom

All this adds up to a powerful sum of good carried forth from the sixties, and all of it sprang from the decade's general climate of freedom to behave unusually, to right wrongs, to take strong, absolute stands. But that climate has its trickier and potentially unworthy side too, a side that it's necessary to understand in order to do right by the seventies.

The drawing-the-line political mentality has its great strength in situations that are not morally or procedurally ambiguous, but when the pressing problems have that ambiguousness it has its shortcomings. When a complex understanding of the obstacles to reform is called for, when it's necessary to comprehend the other side fully in order to bring it around, when it's imperative to hang in there for the long haul—these are the times when passing absolute judgments and acting on them quickly doesn't work.

The antiwar movement, for instance, has had its good side extensively documented, but it had its weaknesses too. Its reliance on mass protests that focused on simple home truths certainly helped awaken broad opposition to the war, but also left the movement open to diversionary actions by the government—like stopping the bombing when that was the clarion call—that allowed the war to continue. The war thus dragged on well past the peak of the antiwar movement, and it's not at all clear that similar governmental errors in similar situations won't happen in the future—the apparatus for them certainly remains in place. The movement was far better at passing correct moral judgment on the war than at understanding why it had come about.

Similarly, the student protest movement completely died when the recession set in. No longer was the luxury of refusing to accept the universities' flaws without some personal economic risk possible; and since the movement had left open no middle ground between beating the universities and joining them, students joined. It now looks like the feeling of permanent social upheaval on campuses in the sixties was so great partly because both those in favor of it and those against it exaggerated what was going on. Like the U. S. Communist Party and the FBI, both the radicals and the guardians of the gates had cause to enlarge the scope of the menace; it made each side look good. Thus while Abbie Hoffman was proclaiming the birth of an all-new "Woodstock Nation," Midge Decter was agreeing with him wholeheartedly as to the nature of the phenomenon, if not its virtues. The young, as Decter put it to them, were "... displaying an incapacity to get on with your lives in an orderly fashion, ... creating a new kind of order...." Why, she wondered, "have you, the children, found it so hard to take your rightful place in the world?"

It's now clear that everybody can relax. Ninety-five per cent of my own mid-seventies college class, the studies show, will go on to graduate school and get an advanced degree. As undergraduates we studied furiously just to keep up our professional parents' pace; the knowledge that in a meritocracy you're not protected against downward mobility, especially in bad economic times, had finally sunk in. There were few discussions of how to avoid selling out. Professors worried about how to get the students to stop worrying about grades so much. Being

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able to live the way our parents live, or better, will make most of us happy—as, I suspect, it will make happy most people who went to college in the sixties. As *Playboy* magazine likes to point out in its advertisements, most "retired radicals" have turned to consumerism. That such an utter turnabout was possible is strong proof of the dark side of absolutist, all-or-nothing politics.

Improving The World

A related shift has taken place in the women's movement lately; there, the sixties' strain of obsession with self has grown stronger as the strain of extreme sensitivity to wrong has weakened.

To speak of the sixties women's movement in general terms is misleading, because it was made up of so many disparate, often warring groups—from Freidan's legislation-oriented National Organization of Women to Valerie Solanas' Society for Cutting Up Men, which was what the name implies.

But there was clearly a concern with improving the world generally, a feeling that women were more interested than men in peace and equitable distribution or wealth. Possibly because they were accustomed to bearing the personal brunt of men's flaws, women in the movement could see what happened when those flaws were writ large. The self-conscious "toughness," the need to dominate, the fear of seeming affectionate or gentle—all these were central to men's day-to-day treatment of women, and also to the way they ran the world. The women's movement was especially perceptive of these flaws when they abundantly showed up in Vietnam policy and elsewhere, and criticized them as part of a general attack on the macho ethic.

Ms. magazine, for instance, launched by *New York* in 1971, had in its first issue a rating of presidential candidates according to feminist standards. One of the categories by which the candidates were judged was, of course, "Taking women seriously," but two others had to do with the state of the world rather than of women per se: "Opposition to militarism and violence," and "the courage to challenge the status quo." The impression was that women not only wanted to enlarge their slice of the pie, but that they also wanted to change the pie.

This spring *New York* launched a second women's magazine, *Savvy*, which is written for women professionals and contains not a breath of criticism of the state of the world. Instead, like the two or three other post-movement women's magazines that have sprung up, it seems aimed chiefly at duplicating in women the more baroque flaws of men, like caring about corner offices and where you're seated at lunch. The editor of another of these magazines, *Working Woman*, sounds for all the world like a young George Meany when, in the May issue, she urged that an upcoming National Women's Conference not concern itself with politics generally: ". . . men are against war and poverty and oppression and bureaucracy too, and it serves no purpose to take a 'woman's' point of view toward these broad social issues." At one time it served great purpose for women in

Answers to the May puzzle.

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America to comment on broad social issues, the same way it now serves great purpose for a group like the Women's Peace Movement to exist in Ireland, where it's virtually the only native organization pushing the cause of peace. It's a tragedy to lose that kind of perspective.

The Issues At Hand

So despite the great gains of the sixties, old perils from the decade—oversimplification, self-indulgence—continue to haunt us. Avoiding those perils is particularly important now, when the issues at hand are immensely complex ones like health care, the nature of work, income redistribution, and others, the solutions to which all will require lengthy, determined effort and a willingness to cast aside self-interest.

A case in point can be drawn from the sixties' strides in race relations. The changes in attitudes in the South are of great potential importance, because the South is virtually the only one of the many places in the world in which tribal hatred exists where the situation has gotten significantly better. Figuring out how the Southern experience can be repeated elsewhere is a worthy goal, but an extremely difficult one to achieve; it's clear that the change was produced by an intricate tangle of factors.

Certainly the old saw about blacks and whites in the South having had years of daily contact—especially as children—as a sort of preparation for integration holds considerable water; they knew each other. Certainly the strength of the organized church there, and its emphasis on love and healing and mercy, was a factor, for out of the church (especially the black church) came much of the impetus for integration. Certainly the federal government's coercion of the South, particularly as regards voter registration, had a wholly good effect, for once blacks were enfranchised they had to be attended to by politicians. The efforts of other minority groups, like Jews, who had general interest in ending discrimination, helped greatly.

Another important factor was no doubt the sixties boom. The wave of racism that the civil rights movement was combatting was born around the end of Reconstruction, a time of great poverty and frustration for the South. Hate and resentment and scapegoat-seeking and economic exclusion flourish when people are competing bitterly for scarce resources. In the sixties, while the nation was doing well, the South was doing very well, and the possibility that blacks and whites might be competing for the same few dollars faded away.

Which of these many reasons were the most important, and which are broadly applicable, are issues that need a careful and protracted sifting out. Similarly, and perhaps even more importantly for Americans, the same sifting out needs to be applied to what might be the only product of the sixties that poses a lasting danger: the knotty issue of class.

A Widening Gulf

It was hard to perceive during the sixties that the gulf between classes in America was widening—after all, wasn't the world being changed for the better?—but it's now clear that it was. While the college students were protesting the war, the members of their generation who weren't in college were fighting in it—a phenomenon that went almost unnoticed at the time, and that has left great residual bitterness.

Perhaps even more important in terms of its long-range consequences, the public school system was being completely reorganized along class lines. That change began in the fifties, when Sputnik created in American educators a strong impulse for an educational catch-up program. The catch-up was most often accomplished by dividing the public schools into "tracks": college, non-college, and remedial. The college track took in the children of the white-collar, afflu-

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ent class, and these people—who went on to the universities, who protested, who later gave up on protest—practically never saw their schoolmates. Thus the present blindness of the sixties generation to class issues is easily understood—all along, through protests and calm, through demonstrations and meditation, they had almost no contact with people unlike themselves. Now, when the search by affluent people for self-confidence and fulfillment is presented as a grave issue, it's more because of inbred blindness than willful refusal to see.

One telling case in point as to the strength of class differences in America today is the story of Columbia, Maryland, a sizable new city built in the sixties between Baltimore and Washington amid visions of clean environment, racial harmony, low crime, and federal housing funds. A few years after its opening, moving steadily toward its population goal of more than 100,000, Columbia has proven that a city can be pleasant, clean, and grassy, if not very charming. The news on race is very heartening: Columbia's developers claim to have the most integrated community in America. It's about 20-percent black, spread through every neighborhood, with relations extremely harmonious. There's only one great falling short of original goals at Columbia: Economic integration, a part of the plan from the beginning, has been stubbornly impossible to achieve. Despite elaborate plans for low-cost housing, there is practically nobody there who isn't middle class.

There's obviously a severe wrong here, and the sixties willingness to point out such wrongs bluntly, rather than accepting them, could help. That nobody is doing so is disturbing—but even if someone were, what's the solution? Mix-the-classes marches? The experience of the sixties have neither brought about awareness of the problem nor suggested its solution. Those tasks remain to be done with a persistence, an understanding of complexity, and a selflessness that are the seventies' own. ■

Wide World Photo.

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Tidbits and Outrages

For Their Own Good

Remember when you had faith that the government would try to do the right thing? Well, the National Institute for Occupational Health and Safety has the names and addresses of 74,000 workers who stand a greater chance than the general public of developing cancer. It has not notified them, even though early warning can result in a cure or prolonged life. According to David Burnham of *The New York Times*, Dr. John F. Finklea, head of the Institute, thinks that informing the workers "might do more harm than good."

Socialite Backs Day Care

To bring a touch of glamour to the lives of our readers, we have pledged to bring them from time to time news of life among the beautiful people. This report is taken from an article by Sally Quinn in *The Washington Post* about Mrs. Winston Guest. After quoting C.Z., as Mrs. Guest is known to her friends, expressing relief that Nelson Rockefeller had the "breeding" to do what had to be done at Attica, Quinn wrote:

"C.Z. Guest is absolutely against criticizing people's children, she says, but she will say this. 'I had a governess for my children. I think children are better brought up with a governess. Children need someone to discipline them. And after all, Winston didn't marry me to be a maid. Besides, I couldn't go around with Winston, traveling, doing all the things he wanted me to do if I'd had to stay home and take care of the children. That doesn't mean I never saw them. Of course I saw them. I went fox hunting with them.' "

Zero's the Base, But Sky's the Limit

We all share the administration's high hopes for zero-based budgeting. But we must say our anxieties were aroused by this report, which appeared in the back pages of *The Washington Post* a few weeks ago:

"At the instigation of Rep. Max Baucus (D-Mont.), the entire budget of the Consumer Produce Safety Commission and a small piece of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration budget were prepared this year using Georgia-style ZBB techniques.

"The size of the CPSC budget presentation expanded by 100 per cent. The ZBB presentation for three of NASA's 10 units was as big as the whole normal NASA budget book. And yet neither included the key ingredients of ZBB—priority evaluations and spelling-out of the consequences of various funding levels."

Altruism Isn't Dead

The members of the Democratic National Finance Council—each is pledged to give or raise $5,000 a year for the party for the next four years—were in town for a luncheon last month. The morning before the lunch there was a meeting of the Council's executive committee, whose members have to bring in nine other $5,000 donors. It was covered by Walter Pincus of *The Washington Post*, who wrote a report that we commend for its lessons on how far political financing reform still has to go:

"Jess Hay, a banker from Dallas and chairman of the council, called the pyramid fund-raising operation a new dimension in Democratic Party involvement for the business and professional community.

"One executive committee member asked Hay, 'What do we tell prospects they will get for their $5,000?'

"Hay's answer was, 'Nothing, except a sense of participating in something worthwhile.'

"Hay did stress that there would be special seminars with Cabinet members and other government officials for the $5,000 donors, but characterized such meetings as 'dialogues.'

"Patrick O'Connor, a longtime party fund-raiser, Washington lawyer, and now council executive committee member added: 'You are going to get first-hand, inside information from Cabinet members.' "

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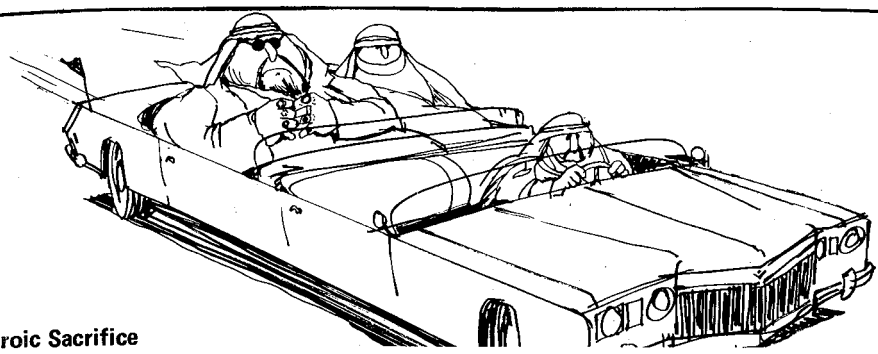

Heroic Sacrifice

Charles B. Camp of *The Wall Street Journal* has to win the prize for asking – and answering – the obvious question that occurred to no one else: Just how tough is Jimmy Carter's gas-guzzler tax? Here's his answer:

"Suppose you're in the market for a new car. And suppose President Carter's scheme to tax the sale of so-called gas-guzzlers and give rebates on economical models were already in effect. What should you do?

"You could stuff yourself, your spouse, two kids and dog into a Chevrolet Chevette minicar and pocket a $400 rebate. Or you could be a bit less patriotic, splurge on a larger Ford Granada compact, and still get $225 back. Then again, you could just buy a full-sized Buick LeSabre sedan and take the consequence. What would that be? A $90 *rebate.*"

Education and the Bureaucrats' Welfare

Here's another item that got buried in the back of *The Washington Post*—a description of the Office of Education by Bart Barnes that deserved more prominence than it got:

"Charted by Congress in 1867 essentially to gather statistics on education, the Office of Education has broadened its scope dramatically in the past 15 years to the point where it now funds programs ranging from bilingual education to compensatory education for poor children to vocational education. It administers 120 programs, compared with fewer than 35 in 1965, and each theoretically requires regulation, evaluation, and monitoring.

"In fact, according to some Office of Education employees, very little hard evaluation ever gets done. Once started, programs are likely to continue forever, regardless of their value to children, because they mean jobs for bureaucrats.

" 'For 98 per cent of the people here, they've never had it so good,' said one OE employee. 'They come from state and local school systems and most of them are making over $30,000 a year here and that's more than they've ever made in their lives.

" 'They are very security conscious, they don't want to take chances, and they have no place to go. If they go back to the local school system, they have more trouble, they have to work harder and they get less pay.'

"Another person who does program evaluations for the Office of Education said, 'OE simply will not accept an unfavorable evaluation of a program. If you turn in an unfavorable evaluation, they'll just rewrite it.'

" 'Other than making sure that states got their money and making sure it was spent, there was no real role for the Office of Education,' said another official. 'I don't know anyone around here who wants to monitor.'

"The one cardinal rule at OE, several employees said, is to make sure that all the money available does, in fact, get spent. The Office of Education declined to comment on the charges from the employees, who asked that their names not be used.

"One employee recalled sitting in an office toward the end of the fiscal year when a complete set of new furniture arrived unexpectedly. When the employee asked about it, she said, the answer was simple and direct: 'We had money left over in the budget and we had to spend it somehow.' "

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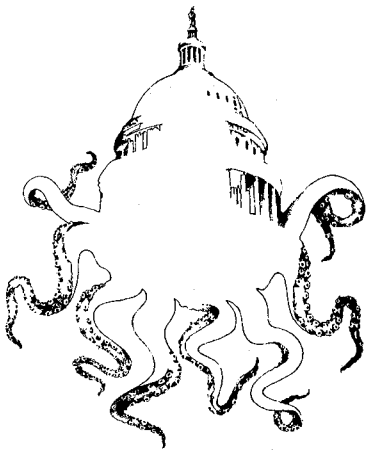
Ts &Os

Cutting Back

Last year we published an article called "The Firemen First Principle," the point of which was that bureaucrats, when faced with a budget cut, will cut muscle instead of fat because the bureaucrats themselves are usually part of the fat. The best proof so far that we weren't just imagining things has come from Donald Singleton of the New York *Daily News*, who studied the New York City Parks Department and found it "so short of basic manpower, so top-heavy with supervisory and administrative officials... that it has all but abandoned most of the city's 1,400 public parks to armies of drunks, junkies, and juvenile delinquents." Singleton compared the vacancy rates for supervisors and workers: For five categories of supervisory positions paying from $17,000 to $25,000, the vacancy rates were, respectively, 22, 15, 13, 12, and 0 per cent (the 0 was for the $25,000-a-year jobs). For the workers, the attendants, the laborers, the gardeners, the pruners and cutters, and the custodians, the vacancy rates were 92, 57, 53, 31, and 93 per cent.



A Tragedy and a Grave Mistake

The President is finding out that it's not going to be easy to cut back on those 1,175 government advisory committees. When the State Department announced that it was contemplating the abolition of the Government Advisory Committee on International Book and Library Programs, for example, the committee's current chairman, Leo N. Albert, said it will be a "tragedy" if the committee dies. Townsend Hoopes, the president of the American Association of Publishers, joined in protesting the possibility of abolition, citing the committee's sponsorship of such essential programs as International Book Year in 1974 and Promotion of the Reading Habit in 1975.

The Treasury Department has an Advisory Committee on Private Philanthropy and Public Need. Its members include people like Douglas Dillon, former Treasury secretary and currently chairman of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, Alan Pifer, president of Carnegie Corporation, George Romney, former Cabinet member and business executive, Yale University president Kingman Brewster, recently named ambassador to Britain, and David Cohen, president of Common Cause.

Here, according to Urban Lehner of *The Wall Street Journal*, was the reaction when Secretary of the Treasury Michael Blumenthal suggested that, since the President was trying to do away with official advisory committees, it should reconstitute itself as an "informal" group:

"Dillon expressed 'shock,' says a fellow member. Romney warned that the President would be making a 'grave political mistake' in abolishing the philanthropy committee while leaving others in existence. Cohen says he called it a 'slap at the private, non-profit world.'

"Pifer, two other members of the committee, and a Treasury staffer assigned as the committee liaison spent their lunch break drafting a crisply phrased memo of protest to the Treasury secretary; the committee members unanimously approved it. 'What really got under my skin was being compared to a special interest group,' complains Pifer. 'We were there to represent an enormous great sector of American life.' "

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Thomson, Moyers, and Ball: Prophets Without Office

by Roger Morris

On a soft spring evening in Washington four years ago, the American Foreign Service Association held one of its clubby little dinner-seminars for a selected brace of bureaucrats and temporary establishment exiles. The topic was official dissent in foreign policy, and the speaker was James C. Thomson, Jr., a young scholar on Asia who had resigned early from Lyndon Johnson's National Security Council staff and then written and spoken out against the Vietnam war and its practitioners—all of which won him nothing but scorn from his former employers.

In Thomson's audience that night, however, was at least one old boss with a somewhat different view. A former undersecretary of State and UN ambassador, at that point working as a Wall Street financier while awaiting a Democratic restoration, George Ball had been the highest-ranking, most conspicuous and celebrated of the official doves on Vietnam. And when Thomson remarked that he and other dissenters might have broken the club rules so much as to be barred from any future government office, Ball reacted with avuncular sureness. "We'll take care of you, Jim," he murmured in the back of the room. "We'll take care of you."

Roger Morris writes about foreign affairs and formerly worked for the National Security Council.

Four years later, with Jimmy Carter in the White House, Ball had not "taken care" of returning *himself* to power, much less Thomson or most of the other former officials who had shown the vision and courage to oppose the most ghastly foreign policy mistake of the century. For the most part, the Vietnam dissenters would remain—by default or by choice, more often by banal nepotism than by conscious black-listing—prophets without office under the Democrats, just as they were under the Republicans. But if they weren't consciously discriminated against for their views on Vietnam, the pity is that there wasn't conscious discrimination in their favor because of those views. Rather than focusing on bringing into the State Department people with certain admirable beliefs, the Carter administration concentrated on getting old faces, the expert and the trusted. The account of how that was accomplished, and how those who were right on Vietnam were largely overlooked, is another revealing and sad glimpse into how foreign policy is run.

The story begins with the people who *did* get the important national

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security positions in the White House and the State and Defense Departments. The process was all too familiar. At the cabinet level it was the hoary tradition of knowing and discreetly backing the right presidential horse. Cyrus Vance at State, Harold Brown at Defense, Michael Blumenthal at Treasury, and Zbigniew Brzezinski at the White House had all met and impressed Carter as fellow members of the Trilateral Commission, a club of foreign policy moguls and younger politicians that was conceived by Brzezinski and financed by David Rockefeller—among other reasons, precisely to foster the formation of such contacts. As with the Council on Foreign Relations and other, similar, settings, the bland papers and illustrious if dull meetings of the Commission offered an uncontested showplace for the apparent stature and authority of the establishment, and thus a powerful soft sell on a then-obscure governor like Jimmy Carter.

Vance et al. were men who understood, accepted, and, of course, carefully practiced that ritual soft sell with what obviously became ample success. Their sheer availability and proximity mattered more than actual past records. When President-elect Carter turned to Vice President-elect Mondale (also a member of the Commission), when he looked at his own campaign "task forces," when he consulted Democratic politicians or even Henry Kissinger, Vance and the others would be prominently, favorably mentioned.

Along with them there were younger men, the aides and proteges who would do most of the substantive work of the campaign and transition, the writers and briefers and bureaucratic go-betweens who would in the course of their tasks have their tickets punched for sub-cabinet offices like the ones Vance, Blumenthal, and Brown had held in the Johnson years. Here the sociology of job-filling was more varied than it had been with the choices at the top, but hardly more open.

On the surface, the new regime went through well-publicized motions toward a broad recruitment for its national security positions. Members of the transition staff at the State Department were asked to assemble lists of candidates for a dozen key posts, from the undersecretaries through the regional assistant secretaries and their deputies. The Carter organization's renowned Talent Inventory Program compiled additional names for the foreign policy positions. Many of the TIP prospects were drawn deliberately from outside the East Coast. But after the TIP and transition staff candidates had been discussed in late December 1976 for possible submission to Secretary-designate Vance, the lists of fresh names soon disappeared. The jobs, you see, had already been taken. TIP was overruled, as one disillusioned participant put it, albeit too simply, by "the friends of Tony Lake."

Never Past the Line

At 38, William Anthony Lake was a popular protege of Vance and others in the establishment. Having served dutifully as a Foreign Service aide to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in Saigon, Undersecretary Nicholas deB. Katzenbach in the State Department, and Henry Kissinger in the White House, he resigned over the invasion of Cambodia in the spring of 1970. During the following years, Lake wrote with co-authors a handful of articles criticizing various policies, edited a conventional Council on Foreign Relations book on the "lessons" of Vietnam, and eventually, as one of the wiretap victims, sued Kissinger et al. for damages. But at no point had the articles been too frank, or the opposition too deep, to take him past the line of club respectability. In 1972 he had known Vance while working as a foreign policy assistant in the stillborn Muskie campaign. In the summer of 1976 he was,

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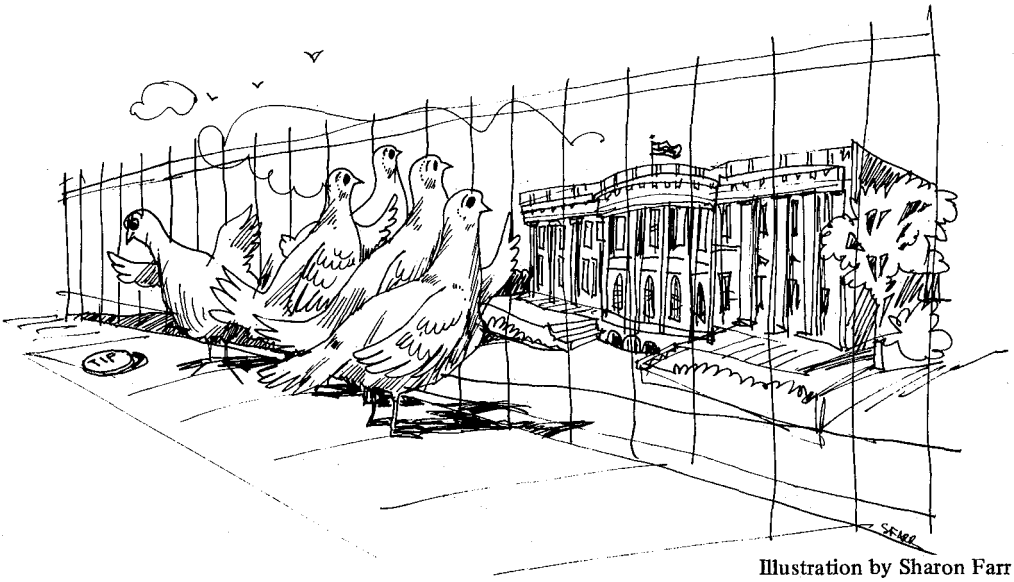

Illustration by Sharon Farr

on Vance's recommendation, among the first ones hired for Carter's expanded Atlanta staff. After the election, Lake headed the State Department transition staff; and with Vance's appointment as secretary, his succession to office was assured.

So too was the State Department employment of Richard Holbrooke, an old friend of Lake's whose career had covered much the same narrow terrain in Washington, but with visibly more naked self-promotion, less ability and experience, and fewer trusting patrons. With Brzezinski's backing, Holbrooke had also been an enthusiastic recruit to the Atlanta staff. And in December it would be Lake and Holbrooke who supervised the reviewing of the personnel lists.

As several eyewitnesses describe those deliberations, most of the nominees were appraised according to a brief litany that ranged from "too young" to the ultimate disqualification: "Who is *he*?" In any case, Lake reportedly went off to consult the Secretary and returned a few days later with the announced appointments, which, it turned out, showed that the talent search had been easier than many imagined.

The relatively few available State Department plums went to the inner circle: Lake would be director of Policy Planning; Holbrooke Assistant Secretary for East Asia; Carter advisor and Yale Professor Richard Cooper undersecretary for Economic Affairs. Campaign and patronage politics were equally decisive in the lesser precincts of the UN. Ambassador Andrew Young would name C. William Maynes Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, reportedly largely because Maynes, a former Foreign Service officer, gave Young an impressive briefing on the UN. With similar inspiration, Young also appointed as his principal deputy Donald McHenry, one of the few blacks in the State Department and a former aide to William Rogers.

By all accounts, the rest of the jobs were settled according to time-honored criteria. To avoid political controversy, the Near Eastern Bureau was simply left in the hands of the colorless, custodial career bureaucrat whom Kissinger had placed there. The European, Latin American, and African bureaus also went to career officers. In return for these rewards, the Foreign Service reluctantly accepted political appointments like Holbrooke's, which otherwise would have been particularly vulnerable to opposition on grounds of lack of experience and stature.

Equally important (every bit as much in the mystical corridors of diplomacy as in the Departments of Agriculture or Transportation) was

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the gentlemanly bureaucratic incest and back-scratching among appointees. Thus, Richard Moose—former FSO and aide to Walt Rostow, Kissinger, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—was named State's Deputy Undersecretary for Administration mainly because, say several sources, Lake recommended him to Vance as bureaucratically "savvy," notwithstanding Moose's near-total lack of administrative or managerial experience. Moose, in turn, is said to have urged the appointment of Dan Spiegle, one of Moose's close associates in the Senate, as Vance's special assistant—a friendly ear at the Secretary's door. For his part, Vance practiced similar office politics in keeping as Undersecretary for Political Affairs Philip Habib, a career relic who shared Vance's enthusiasm for the Vietnam war, and in hiring as the department's Executive Secretary C. Arthur Borg, once Dean Rusk's unflinching aide.

Elsewhere, Lake and Holbrooke pushed the appointment of former John McCloy aide David Aaron as Brzezinski's deputy (having two years before pushed Aaron as an aide to then-Senator Walter Mondale). To complement Aaron at the White House, Lake and Holbrooke backed another FSO and an old friend from Vietnam, Peter Tarnoff, as another special assistant to Vance. They also campaigned for the appointment of former Pentagon official, *New York Times* reporter and Lake co-author Leslie Gelb as director of State's Office of Political-Military Affairs, a province of obvious interest to both policy planning and the East Asian bureau.

But if all this thoughtful career placement seems a bit inbred, consider the history of the Moose-Eagleburger axis, in which Carter's advent is only the latest episode. Having admired fellow FSO Lawrence Eagleburger when both served in State's executive secretariat in the mid-1960s, Moose helped support Eagleburger's promotion to the National Security Council staff in 1966; when Eagleburger became one of Kissinger's chief aides during the Nixon transition in 1969, he recommended Moose as NSC staff secretary, though Moose left shortly thereafter in a falling out with Kissinger. In 1976-77, as the outgoing Deputy Undersecretary for Administration, Eagleburger reportedly backed Moose as his replacement, and Moose, according to the same reliable sources, promptly urged Eagleburger's now-pending appointment as ambassador to Yugoslavia.

These loyalties should not be confused with questions of substance. For the last eight years, Moose, in the Senate, was ostensibly a vigorous opponent of Kissinger's policies, and Eagleburger, in the upper reaches of the Nixon-Ford regimes, an ardent defender of same. Nor is there any automatic relation between this kind of incest and the competence of its beneficiaries. Most observers both in and out of government have no doubt of Eagleburger's considerable intellect and bureaucratic skills. But the same cannot be said for many of the others who will now play vital roles in shaping policies and appointing still other influential officials to the new administration.

When the TIP lists had been disposed of and the announcements made, this then was the sort of government that presided over foreign affairs. Though the appointees were by no means limited to the "friends of Tony Lake" (it was part of the process, after all, that everybody had a "friend" somewhere), it was also clear to most of those involved that Lake's influence with Vance was often decisive. It was influence spent in conventional ways and toward predictable ends. The men backed by Lake, and with lesser clout by Holbrooke, were in the mold either career survivors or congenial in-and-outers. None carried the weight of public controversy. None brought with him a troublesome reputation for independence or insubordination. None, it must be said, eclipsed Lake or even Holbrooke in

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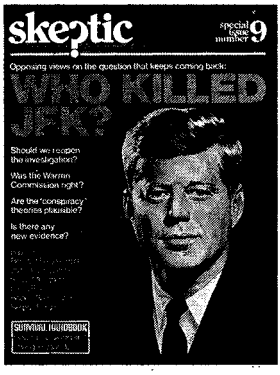

THE GREATEST COVER-UP OF ALL

Since Oswald was *known* to be right-handed, how come his gun had a left-handed scope? Why does an FBI report claim that *separate* shots hit the President and ex-Governor Connally... when the Warren Commission *insists* it was a single bullet? And how do you account for the 17 different witnesses—all with evidence contrary to the Warren Commission's conclusions—who were found *dead or murdered* within three years of that sad, traumatic day in Dallas?

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terms of apparent influence with Vance, at least for the moment. And none, except Lake himself by his 1970 resignation, could qualify as an authentic dissenter against the Vietnam war.

The Missing Generation

Flying back to Washington from Plains in mid-December and sitting within earshot of reporters, Mondale had asked Vance about "this problem" of State Department appointments. Why was there such a gap, asked the Vice President-elect, between the junior men like Lake and Holbrooke and the senior people like Vance? Weren't there good people somewhere in that range to fill some key slots? History, by way of *Time*, does not record Vance's reply. But Mondale's missing generation, whether or not he knew it or Vance admitted it, was in some measure the men who had opposed the war.

There was no single or simple answer to why they were not there. At the top, Ball seems to have lost the Secretary of State sweepstakes for reasons that had relatively little to do with Vietnam. Early last year he made the collosal blunder of telling reporters he was *not* one of Carter's foreign policy advisors, after Carter had told reporters he was. Eventually Ball did come to Carter's camp, but later than either Vance or Brzezinski, both of whom opposed him. His pronouncements on the Middle East, too clearly critical of Israel and of past U.S. policy, were a major political liability. His reputation for strong views and cabinet-table eloquence won him no votes among his would-be peers like Brown and Blumenthal, whatever the issue at hand.

Not least, after several years at State in the 1960s, Ball was a man with his own circle of aides and old bureaucratic allies, a condition that made him, as one of them told a reporter, a "disaster" as far as men like Lake and Holbrooke were concerned. And it was simple pride that apparently kept Ball from accepting what he knew would be the vastly lesser offer of an ambassadorship, even to an outwardly prestigious post like Paris. "How could I do *that*?" Ball reportedly said to a Wall Street associate. "Hell, I'd be taking orders from people who used to be my junior assistants." So the elder dove would be nowhere in the new regime, as much because of current politics as past policy disputes on the war.

It was much the same with the other senior dissenter, Washington attorney Paul Warnke, who as an assistant secretary of Defense in 1967-68 was widely credited with internal opposition to the Johnson war policy. Like Ball, Warnke was a comparatively late recruit to Carter but clearly a candidate for secretary of either State or Defense. And again, like Ball, he would be passed over to a large extent for reasons more current than Vietnam. There was a political liability in Warnke's liberal views on strategic policy—these nearly got him rejected by the Senate when, as a gesture to a restless Democratic left, Vance appointed him head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief U.S. SALT negotiator.

Warnke was thus "inside" at the kind of lesser, subordinate job that Ball would not brook—one of the "walking wounded," as a former Pentagon aide of his called him. But for the most part, both he and Ball had simply played the system and lost, not unlike a half-dozen other men from the Johnson years with very different records. In neither man had the war left a lasting aversion to the people and methods of government, or a distaste for the politics of foreign policy job-seeking. That Ball languished in Wall Street and Warnke took orders from Cyrus Vance and other, less gifted men was the luck of the roll, not some fated punishment for their foresight ten years before.

But it was very different for men younger than Ball and Warnke, men in their thirties and forties like

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Thomson, or Bill Moyers, who had opposed the war as LBJ's press secretary, or William Watts, who had resigned from Kissinger's staff with Lake at the time of the Cambodian invasion, or Richard Steadman, who as a Pentagon aide had nourished Warnke's dissent, or Morton Halperin, who had fought against the war policy under both Johnson and Nixon and been wiretapped by the latter, or John Marks, who left the Foreign Service to oppose the war as a Senate aide and later as a writer. Moyers let it be known that he was interested in the directorship of the CIA, but after a brief flurry of consideration, he was turned down; he and Steadman would be offered second-level positions in the new regime, but would decline them. Thomson and Watts sought nothing and were offered nothing. Halperin and Marks, by several accounts, were specifically ruled off those Potemkin lists at the Vance State Department, judged too radical and untrustworthy by the carefully jockeying men who put forward names with an eye on possible embarrassment as well as bureaucratic advantage. Nobody wanted to place a potentially stronger rival or to provide superiors with a dependably unorthodox and independent view.

Texture and Direction

What distinguished the dissenters from the Carter officeholders most sharply was not their views or courage on the war, but the texture and direction of their lives during the Nixon-Ford years. Moyers in a distinguished career in television journalism, Watts as president of his own research group, Halperin and Marks as writers and civil liberties activists, Steadman as a business success in Manhattan, Thomson as a scholar and administrator at Harvard—all had fashioned lives and careers independent of some future restoration.

The men who took foreign policy power under Jimmy Carter came from a different world, largely bounded by corporate and foundation sinecures, ruled by men who themselves wanted nothing more than to return to government. In that world, jobs were indeed way-stations, and in a basic sense, a form of exile. And the character of it all imprinted itself on the men and their methods as they came together to form a new government. If the dissenters from the Vietnam war were not a part of that government, it was as much because the system was anathema to them as because they were now, for their dissent, anathema to the system.

And that is why they will be missed so badly, by the rest of the country if not by their nervous peers now on the Treasury payroll. Not that Ball or Warnke do not labor under the same narrow corporate lawyer's vision of the universe, or that some of the dissenters are not now capable of mistakes on other issues as grand as their insight on Vietnam. But the fact remains that these were figures who saw more clearly than do the men now governing the complex reality of a foreign society—a perceptiveness the new administration could well use in the Middle East and Southern Africa. They saw more clearly, too, their own nation's politics and common sense—an understanding President Carter and his men could bring to bear on strategic arms questions and other issues of public mythology and official ignorance. Most of all, they variously bucked and broke with the system when it went mad—the most valuable quality in any public servant.

In that final sense, the dissenters are not there because of their dissent. They are absent because the foreign policy establishment is simply not yet able to accommodate, much less encourage, the traits of character and intellect that ignite dissent to begin with. Still the most potentially deadly public business, the making of foreign policy is still organized in the last of the great smoke-filled rooms of machine nepotism, and the human meaning of our most savage international debacle is still unlearned. ■

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Executive Outplacement: The Fire-for-Hire Business

Illustrated by Brooke Stauffer

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by Patricia Aburdene

Big business likes to present itself to the public as America's last refuge of tough, on-the-line competence. Caught up in a ruthless battle for economic survival, businesses can't afford to waste a penny; anybody who's not really *performing* gets ousted. It's only in the soft public sector, the image has it, that people can spend years in secure bureaucratic sinecures without doing anything or being evaluated.

But for all the appeal of that notion, it's not true. There are plenty of initiative-destroying, security-laden jobs around, and they're not just in the government and the academy. Just as likely, they're in corporate management, where tenure is an unwritten but nonetheless almost ironclad agreement—not by design so much as because America's can-do executives are creampuffs when it comes to firing.

Corporate big-shots have found an ingenious way to avoid most of the unpleasantness, however. The nation's biggest corporations have started doing business with a new breed of management consultant called executive outplacement specialists, who bill themselves as all-purpose firing experts and offer their services —as one did in a recent ad in *Time* magazine—for easing "the agony of executive severance."

So when the top brass at Pitney-Bowes, Bristol-Myers, or Norton Company, among hundreds of others, decide to fire someone, they phone their outplacement man at Challenger, Gray and Christmas, or Drake Beam and Associates. Immediately, the consultant is on the case, a soothing, objective third party mediating between the client and what is called in the business the "candidate." The consultant's chief task is to help the candidate find a new job, which, in two to six months, it does more than 95 per cent of the time (which doesn't say much for business' intolerance of incompetence).

Outplacement specialists don't actually say the fateful words—you're fired—to people, but they do everything else connected with the separation. The consultant comes in beforehand and acts out the firing with whoever has to bear the bad news. Then immediately after the ceremony he takes the outplaced executive in hand. In most cases, the person who's been fired is ushered out of his boss' office and directly into a private room where the outplacement consultant is waiting. They spend the next two to five hours together talking it over, the consultant urging his new ward to "ventilate" (as they say) his true feelings about how awful the corporation is and why he shouldn't have been fired. Underlying the sympathy, however, there is toughness: the consultant starts planting in the poor unfortunate's mind the idea that he'd better start thinking about the future and his next job. Over the next few weeks, career plans are assessed and past mistakes identified, and soon the fired person is transformed from a broken man to a confident executive ready to sally forth to his next corporate niche.

Corporations don't contract for this service merely out of altruistic concern for the people they fire, of course. There are practical economic reasons why executive outplacement firms are doing what some say is a $100-million a year business. The firms' conceptual sales pitch is that if firing isn't done at all it costs corporations money, and that if it's done ineptly it can result in contract cancellations, staff raids, and secrets sold to competitors. On a more nuts-and-bolts level, outplacing is cheaper than firing because outplacement consultants present their services as a substitute for the standard one year's severance pay. Outplacement firms usually get a com-

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mission of from 10 to 15 per cent of the annual salary of the executive they are firing; since most of these executives have salaries in the $40,000 range, the fees are considerable. In addition, the firms suggest that clients keep the fired executive on the company payroll for the few months it takes to find him a new job and continue his benefits as well. Assuming a six-month job search, which would be unusually long, outplacing a $40,000-a-year executive would cost a company about $25,000; firing him with a year's severance pay would cost an additional $15,000 and cause greater pain all around.

Because of figures like that, it's no surprise that outplacement firms are doing so well. As early as 1974, *Business Week* reported that 200 companies had engaged outplacement services, and the numbers have increased substantially since then. One New York firm, Orr, Cuthrell, Fuchs & Associates Inc., claims to have gone to work for 100 of the nation's top 500 companies. A Chicago firm says it contracts with "70 per cent of the major firms in the Midwest." One outplacement firm has branch offices in Los Angeles and Houston; another has established its first international office in London.

Despite the firms' impressive popularity, executive outplacement is a relatively recent phenomenon, with roots in the 1969-70 recession. Under the fiscal strain of large-scale budget cutbacks, organizations turned to their executive search firms (that consulting business was already booming by then) with a problem: how to get rid of the surplus managers the search firms sold them during the prosperous sixties. The answer was to create a high-priced service to perform the reverse function, and executive outplacement was born.

Since then, two New York firms—THinc. and Orr, Cuthrell, Fuchs—have grown ten and 20 times each. Most outplacement firms handle a few hundred executives a year, but one large firm participates in 1,500 to 2,000 firings annually. The industry is attracting new clients all the time. Last November, the New York Stock Exchange hired Orr, Cuthrell, Fuchs to help it reduce its staff by 125 after a reorganization. The State of New York considered, and then backed off from, a plan to hire Drake Beam for some firing help, which the firm had already provided to Bellevue Hospital. The outplacement business seems nearly ready to overtake its parent, the search business.

Masters of the Euphemism

In keeping with their status as the morticians of the business world, outplacement firms are masters of the euphemism. It's a sign of how strongly middle-class Americans identify themselves through their job status that firing, like death, is a word not mentioned in polite conversation. In its stead, the outplacement firms trot out a host of pleasanter sounding substitutes: people are dehired, or undergo executive transition, or are outplaced, relocated, phased out, or terminated. Confidentiality is like a religion for outplacers; getting the name of someone they've helped, let alone a corporate client, is an impossibility. Sometimes, of course, the clients go public on their own, to show how nice they are, and indeed the public relations of outplacement have been very good to date. When the management press covers outplacement, it is usually under headlines like "Corporations Have a Heart, Finance Fired Exec's Job Hunt."

The average fired executive is in his forties and has been with his company since leaving college. His annual raises, like his performance and the enjoyment he gets from his job, have started to slacken. His chief concern, rather than producing or selling or otherwise *doing* something, tends to be maintaining the accouterments of status that he has accumulated: a vice-presidency, a big house, a secure identity. He'd never dream of giving it all up for something less stable that he

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really enjoys. Thus his stagnation is not only hurting his company, it's hurting him. Embarking on a second career after the first one loses its luster is not something most white-collar Americans ever seriously consider.

So heavily do people depend on secure jobs and so deeply do they fear rejection that they tend to avoid being evaluated, or evaluating themselves, at all costs. This fear is communicated fully to the top management of corporations, who no doubt also feel it themselves; and as a result, the evaluation process becomes a major trauma, to be avoided whenever possible. When the moment does come that managers get fired, outplacement consultants say, it's often just after getting a substantial raise.

Here outplacement stops being ridiculous and starts making sense for those who go through it, if only because it forces them to size up their lives in a way that most people usually avoid. Out of jobs, with little to do but think things over, fired executives are compelled to figure out what they're good at and what they want to do. If they're lucky they'll also get over their initial feelings of worthlessness, form an identity separate from their old corporate one, and thus, ironically, end up more self-confident than they had been before getting fired.

Outplacement firms try to bring this process along. At THinc., fired executives are required to draw up long, detailed lists of every accomplishment in their lives and to describe in exhaustive detail the ten or 15 most recent ones. The consultants begin to point out recurring skills and patterns of success along which the job hunt can be modeled. The fired person is encouraged to see these patterns—which have been his own doing—as the story of his life, rather than seeing it as a succession of titles and corporate affiliations.

So, oddly enough, there is some wheat among all the chaff of executive outplacement. By encouraging the fired employee to focus on his talent instead of his titles, it is taking a step toward reversing the tendency of our society to be unproductive, featherbedded, and bureaucratized. If that tendency is to be overcome, we need employees to be at least as concerned with matching their talent to work that needs doing as they are with what they are called, with what they are paid, and with how much security they have. ■

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How to Make the Tobacco Companies Pay for Cancer

Photographed by Al Fitterman

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by Seth Kupferberg

Almost a million Americans have died of lung cancer in the 13 years since *Smoking and Health*, the Surgeon General's advisory committee's report, officially declared there were strong links between smoking and cancer and other diseases. The American Cancer Society says that at least 80 per cent of lung cancer cases are caused by cigarette smoking. Scientists continue to uncover evidence of the habit's other dangers. There's no question that smoking is one of America's worst health problems.

Although the government will take up the lance against carcinogenic foods without hesitation, the "appropriate remedial action" against cigarettes just hasn't materialized. Whatever the reason—the popularity of smoking, the power of the tobacco companies, bad memories of Prohibition—it's clear that the government isn't going to do much to wipe out smoking, no matter how desirable that may be.

That leaves it to the citizenry to take on the tobacco companies. This sounds like an awesome, near-impossible task, but there is one way that could well work: going through the courts. Through aggressive litigation, the tobacco companies could be made responsible for the vast damage they do to the health of the American people. They could be forced to foot the bill for lung cancer—a bill that would be so astronomical it would force the companies to think very seriously about how they might stop killing people.

The approach is that of the branch of law called torts: cases in which a person or corporation sues another alleged to have hurt him in some way, usually demanding money damages. If someone beats you up, you sue him for the tort—and if you win, he has to pay your damages, besides whatever other penalties the government may exact because his action was a crime. It's a system for shifting the economic burdens of injuries onto those whose fault they are. Through this same system, people who become sick after eating infected canned food, or who are hurt by tools that lack adequate safeguards, bring suits against the makers of these products for the harm they've caused. Making the manufacturer pay encourages him either to make his products safer or to raise his prices, thus spreading the cost of the danger among all the products' buyers instead of just a randomly hard-hit, unlucky few.

Torts is an especially potent branch of the law because of the way they work out financially for the lawyers who represent people seeking damages. Usually these plaintiffs aren't wealthy enough to afford massive legal fees, so their lawyers often represent them on what's called a contingent-fee basis. If the lawyers lose, they don't make any money. If they win, they get a sizable hunk of the damages, usually more than 30 per cent.

Seth Kupferberg just finished his first year at Harvard Law School.

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And those damages can be very high. Let's say a 45-year-old executive making $40,000 a year gets lung cancer and dies. His heirs would sue to recover the earnings he would have brought in had he lived, plus compensation for medical expenses and pain and suffering. The lost earnings alone, in this case, would be about $800,000; the lawyer's fee, if he wins, would be well in excess of a quarter of a million dollars.

Economics like that have created a special breed of lawyer. They call themselves personal-injury or plaintiffs' lawyers, and they're sometimes derisively referred to by their corporate-law brethren as ambulance-chasers. The best of them are razor-sharp, money-hungry, and very aggressive indeed; their income compares favorably with the successful corporate attorneys. They're also among our best-publicized lawyers—flamboyant celebrities like Melvin Belli, the "king of torts" from San Francisco, and F. Lee Bailey. Their brains, drive, and greed can be harnessed to stir up powerful social winds. If these energies were directed toward the tobacco companies they could have a powerful effect on the smoking business. The torts lawyers are the smokers' secret weapon.

As things stand now, however, nobody is bringing litigation against the tobacco companies, mostly because of the resounding failure of a few such attempts in the early sixties. But although judges and juries have been unwilling, to date, to hold the tobacco companies liable for the injuries they cause, that unwillingness has sprung from logic that is by no means incontestable and arguments of the issue that were by no means complete. The legal doctrines that can be amassed on the side of making the tobacco companies pay are strong enough to make another torts assault well worth trying.

By 1966 there had been four major trials involving sick smokers—all lost, both with juries and on appeal. None of the decisions were masterpieces of jurisprudence. In one, the appellate court acknowledged that its original decision had been based on an incorrect understanding of Florida law, but reaffirmed it anyway, citing as authority a decision in Louisiana that had been based on the original, wrong opinion. And that aside, the decisions drew distinctions that seem merely arbitrary.

One of the cases involved Frank J. Lartigue, a resident of New Orleans who had died of lung cancer in 1955 when he was 65 years old, after 55 years of smoking. His widow sued two tobacco companies, introducing medical evidence that filled most of the 20 volumes of the trial record. Despite the tobacco companies' counter-arguments, an appellate court said there was a "convincing case" that Lartigue had been killed by smoking. Like food, the court's opinion said, cigarettes are intended for such intimate bodily use that manufacturers should pay for harm they cause even if it isn't due to negligence. Still, Mrs. Lartigue lost—"it is reasonable to draw the line somewhere," the court explained.

In another case, a jury decided that if smoking took 20 to 30 years to affect people, it was "reasonably" safe—even though the foreman of the jury, himself a longtime smoker, was so impressed by the testimony at the trial that he quit smoking. In another, a jury decided that although the makers of Chesterfields had advertised their product specifically as not harmful to health, a smoker who had gotten cancer from them was not entitled to damages.

The doctrine that emerged from all this was that the tobacco companies had to bear responsibility only for the damages caused by faultily made cigarettes, those with some unusual (for cigarettes) and fast-acting hazard. Otherwise it was assumed that the smoker knew that he was getting into a dangerous business when he started, and so the tobacco companies didn't have to bear the burden of his later

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ills. Never mind that pre-1963 smokers didn't know for sure that smoking caused cancer—neither did the companies. Never mind that the present warning on cigarette packs was staunchly opposed by the companies for years, and, at first, said only that cigarettes "may be hazardous to your health." The companies' winning argument was that smokers had "assumed the risk" when they took up the habit. "Assumption of the risk" is a legal doctrine that precludes recovery by plaintiffs who are aware of the peril of a course of conduct and deliberately choose to take the risk. The courts applied this rule to cigarette smokers and said, if you persist in smoking knowing the peril of cigarettes, you are to blame for whatever harm to yourself results.

The courts were wrong then and would, I believe, rule otherwise today if the right arguments are presented to them.

Here are the right arguments:

For years the courts have permitted automobile drivers to recover damages from other drivers who injure them. But if a smoker knows that he can be harmed by cigarettes, doesn't a driver know he can be harmed by automobiles? There is a statistical predictability of harm to those who choose to drive that is as clear as the predictability of harm to those who choose to smoke. If the driver can sue, why can't the smoker?

The most infuriating aspect of the assumption of risk defense is that the cigarette companies have used it against people the companies persuaded to smoke. The doctrine properly applies only to those cases where the plaintiff on his own decides to take the risk, not to those where the defendant is trying to con him into taking it, standing at the other end of the rickety bridge saying "Come on!"

The tobacco companies are engaged in a constant, expensive campaign to get people to start smoking. For years they denied there was a risk, even claimed cigarettes were healthy. Now their ads bear small warnings, but their overwhelming message is that smoking is fun, sexy, social, pleasurable, and even reasonably safe. The risks are underplayed by comparison—when was the last time you saw an anti-smoking ad?

The fact is that people usually don't start smoking in full awareness of its dangers; at any rate, their awareness of its dangers is of far smaller magnitude than their awareness that smoking will make them seem impressively sophisticated to their friends. Many smokers start for no more complex a reason than the desire to look grown-up, which is understandable, since when they start many of them aren't. Because so many smokers start as minors, another legal argument might be brought into play in the fight for damages: the doctrine of "attractive nuisance." If a child hurts himself climbing a power-line pole near a playground or drowns in someone's front-yard swimming pool, courts almost always hold that damages are recoverable from the owner of the hazard on the grounds that he should have foreseen the possibility of an accident and acted to prevent it. The case against the tobacco companies is much stronger. The power company wasn't running advertisements saying climb our pole. But almost every newspaper and almost every magazine is filled with pleas from the tobacco companies saying smoke our cigarette.

So the good arguments are there. The cases can be won. And, when they are, the cost of cigarettes will soar until they reflect cigarettes' true social cost. Large judgments could put the cigarette companies out of business. Certainly, if the companies have to pay for the damage they cause, they will have incentive to stop causing it.

For the lawyers, the ground seems fertile and far less than fully plowed. For the rest of us, successful damage suits appear to be the best way out of what is now a one-way system, one where the manufacturer has rights and the consumer has responsibilities. ■

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political book notes

Public affairs books to be published in June

The Abuse of Power: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York. Jack Newfield, Paul Dubrul. Viking, $12.50.

Building 6: The Tragedy at Bridesburg. Willard S. Randall, Stephen D. Solomon. Little, Brown, $10.

Bureaucrats, Politicians and Peasants in Mexico: A Case Study in Public Policy. Merilee Serill Grindle. Univ. of California, $12.50.

The Carlos Complex. Christopher Dobson, Ronald Payne. Putnams, $8.95. This story of a Venezuelan terrorist and of the interconnections among political terrorists around the world, as told by two English journalists, occasionally errs on the side of the shallow and the sensational but is on the whole engrossing and disturbing.

The Chinese: Portrait of a People. Alain Peyrefitte. Bobbs-Merrill, $15.

Circles: A Washington Story. Abigail McCarthy. Doubleday, $7.95.

Climates of Hunger. Reid A. Bryson, Thomas J. Murray. Univ. of Wisconsin Press, $8.95.

Criminal Russia. Valery Chalidze. Random House, $10.

The Day Before Doomsday: An Anatomy of the Nuclear Arms Race. Sidney Lens. Doubleday, $8.95.

Defending America: Toward a New Role in the Post-Detente World. Theodore Draper et al. Basic, $13.95.

The Douglas Opinions. Vern Countryman, ed. Random House, $17.95.

Four Men Living the Revolution: An Oral History of Contemporary Cuba. Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis, Susan M. Rigdon. Univ. of Illinois, $15.

French Democracy. Valery Giscard d'Estaing. Doubleday, $6.95.

Full Disclosure. William Safire. Doubleday, $10.95.

Going Too Far: The Personal Chronicle of a Feminist. Robin Morgan. Random House, $10. A collection of 15 years of writing from one of our leading feminists. The material ranges from letters to poems to articles to polemics, and its degree of radi-

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calism waxes ("I claim that rape exists any time sexual intercourse occurs when it has not been initiated by the woman") and wanes with the passing years. While espousing wise doctrines and unwise, Morgan manages to remain consistently engaging and empathetic.

A Government As Good As Its People. Jimmy Carter. Simon & Schuster, $8.95.

Hitler's Children: The Story of the Baader-Meinhof Terrorist Gang. Jullian Becker. Lippincott, $10.

How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger. Susan George. Allanheld, Osmun, $12.50.

India: A Wounded Civilization. V.S. Naipaul. Knopf, $7.95.

The Jewish Mind. Raphael Patai. Scribners, $14.95.

Journals: Early Fifties, Early Sixties. Allen Ginsberg; Gordon Ball, ed. Grove.

Mafia Wife. Robin Moore, Barbara Fuca. Macmillan, $8.95.

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Mediaworld: Programming the Public. John M. Phelan. Seabury, $8.95.

Men and Organizations. Edwin J. Perkins. Putnams, $7.95. An interesting collection of essays examining the impact of large bureaucratic organizations on American life.

Men and Women of the Corporation. Rosabeth Moss Kanter. Basic, $12.

The Menace of Atomic Energy. Ralph Nader, John Abbotts. Norton, $10.95.

The Mid-Atlantic States of America: People, Politics, and Power in the Five Mid-Atlantic States and the Nation's Capital. Neal R. Peirce, Michael Barone. Norton, $12.95.

The Newscasters: The News Business As Show Business. Ron Powers. St. Martin's, $8.95.

Not Above the Law. James Doyle. Morrow, $12.50. Written by the press secretary for the Special Prosecutor's office, this is one of the best of the Watergate books. Among other things it should convince you to hire Herbert Miller as your attorney whenever you're guilty and don't want to go to jail. His clients—William O. Bittman, Richard Kleindienst, and Richard Nixon—were up to their ears in criminal conduct but never spent a day in the slammer. In Bittman's case, for example, Doyle reveals that all the lawyers on the Watergate task force recommended to Jaworski that he be indicted. Then Miller saw Jaworski alone and Bittman was not indicted.

On the Brink. Benjamin Stein, Herbert Stein. Simon & Schuster, $8.95. This is a right-wing political disaster novel, co-authored by an economist who was a political disaster. A George McGovern-like figure gets appointed head of the Federal Reserve, and after a huge OPEC price increase he starts vastly increasing the money supply, leading to Weimar-like inflation and the rise of an unscrupulous, demagogic political leader. Whether or not you agree that inflation is the chief danger facing our society, *On the Brink* is consistently entertaining.

The Origins of International Economic Disorder: A Study of United States International Monetary Policy from World War II to the Present. Fred L. Block. Univ. of California, $14.

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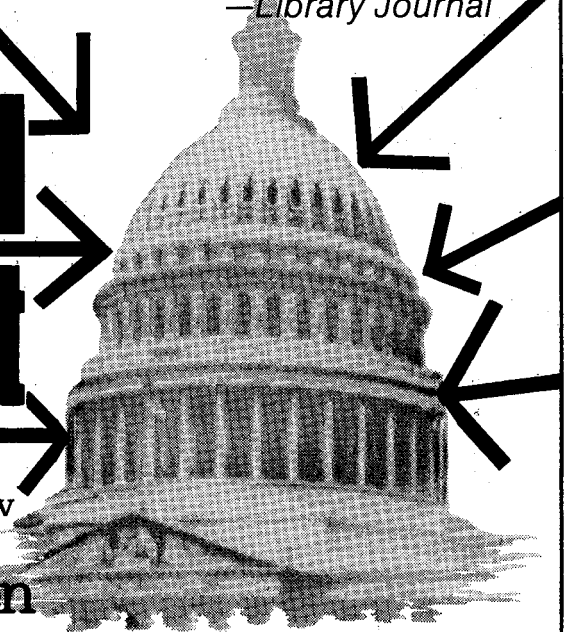

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The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914. David McCullough. Simon & Schuster, $12.50.

Public Trust, Private Lust: Sex, Power and Corruption on Capitol Hill. Marion Clark, Rudy Maxa. Morrow, $8.95.

Pulling No Punches. India Edwards. Putnams, $8.95.

The Race Bomb: Skin Color, Prejudice, and Intelligence. Paul R. Ehrlich, Shirley Feldman. Quadrangle/New York Times, $10.

Revolution in the Third World: Myths and Prospects. Gerard Chailand. Viking, $10.95.

A Rumor of War. Philip Caputo. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $10. Although we saw him on our television screen almost every night for ten years, the American soldier in Vietnam is among the least understood and most forgotten in our history. In this book, however, Caputo, a former Marine officer who is now a reporter with *The Chicago Tribune*, tells of his own experience in Vietnam in 1965-66 with enough truth to fill a large part of the gap. But the author was an officer and he was in Vietnam when there was still hope. What we need to complete the picture is a book written from the point of view of a draftee who was there when hope was gone and the haunting fear was that you would be the last man to die in a war you didn't believe in.

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Special People. Julie Nixon Eisenhower. Simon & Schuster.

Stalag: U.S.A.—The Untold Story of German POWs in America. Judith M. Gansberg. Crowell, $8.95.

Tomorrow's American. Samuel Sandmel, ed. Basic, $7.95.

Unionizing the Armed Forces. Ezra S. Krendel, Bernard Samoff, eds. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. This useful collection of essays reporting studies financed by the Office of Naval Research includes an interesting chapter on European military unions.

The Unmaking of a President. Herbert Y. Schandler. Princeton, $16.50. An even-handed account of how Johnson reached his March 1968 decision to stop the bombing and to announce that he would not seek reelection.

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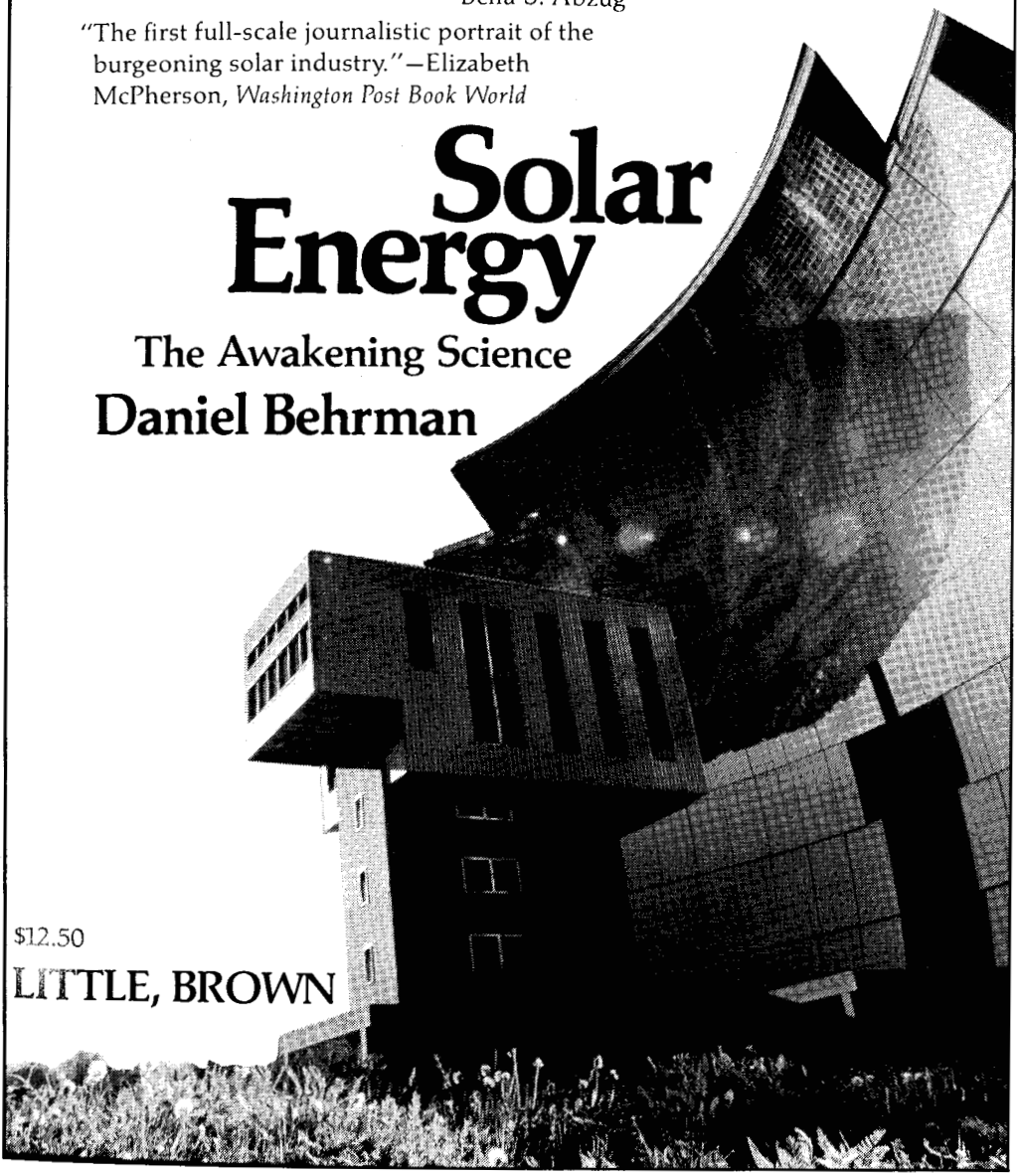

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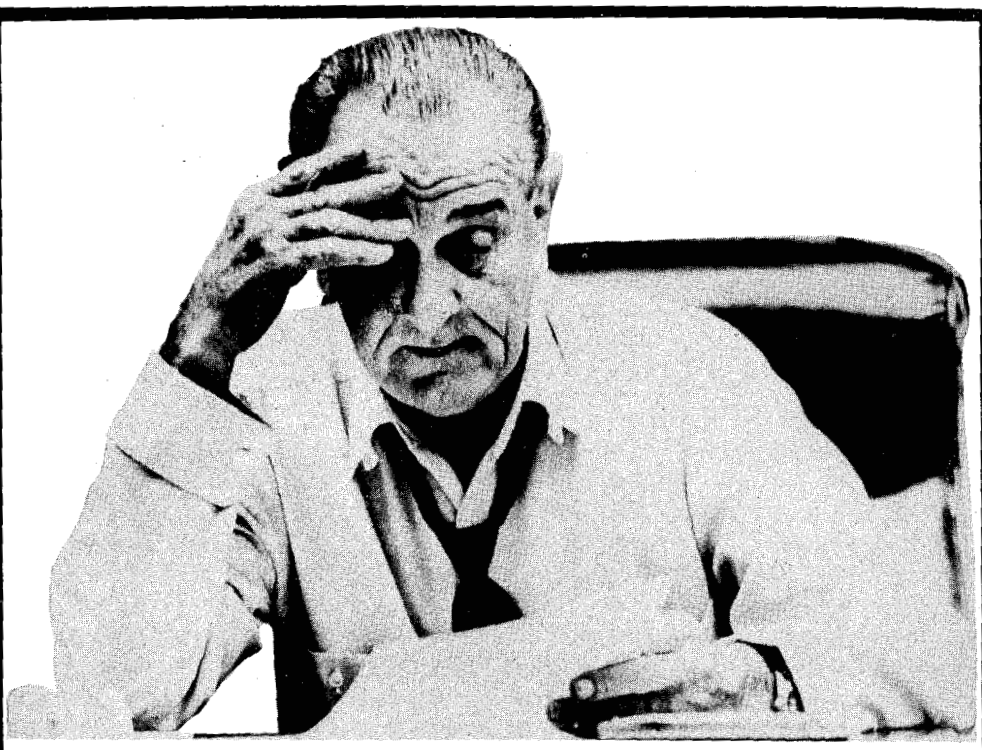

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